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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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24 June 1985

EAST EUROPE REPORT  
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

CONTENTS

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Ceausescu, Dascalescu Message to Czech Counterparts (SCINTEIA, 9 May 85; AGERPRES, various dates) .....	1
Romanians Commemorate Czech Liberation Day, by Nicolae Ceausescu, Constantin Dascalescu	1
Verdet Meets Husak	2
News Conference on Liberation	2
Officials Greet Czech Counterparts	3
Bucharest SCINTEIA on CSSR National Day	3
Verdet Attends CSSR Wreath Laying	4
Embassy Reception Marks Liberation Day	4
Briefs	
Hungarians Thank Romanians for Greetings	5

## BULGARIA

Army Discusses Ideological Work on Jubilees (NARODNA ARMIYA, 27 May 85) .....	6
Maintenance of Chemical Warfare Equipment Recommended (Veliko Ralchev; SERZHANT, No 4, 1985) .....	8
Papal Assassination Suspect Arrested in Netherlands (AFP, 1 Jun 85) .....	11
Bulgarian-Congolese Declaration Published (RABOTNICHESKO DELO, 26 May 85) .....	12
Military Tatoo Marks Botev Day Anniversary (Sofia Domestic Service, 1 Jun 85) .....	17
Zhivkov Message To FISE Congress Read (Todor Zhivkov; RABOTNICHESKO DELO, 25 May 85) .....	19

Zhivkov Greets Japanese Exposition (RABOTNICHESKO DELO, 29 May 85) .....	20
Zhivkov Letter to Tenev (RABOTNICHESKO DELO, 31 May 85) .....	20
Briefs	
Mikhaylov Attends Smolyan Meeting	21
Tourism Official in Damascus	21
Aleksandorov Receives Austrian Minister	21
Bulgarian-DPRK Cultural Cooperation	21
CEMA Shipbuilding Conference	22
Lukanov Meets Polish Minister	22
Jordan Friendship Society	22
Zhivkov Greets Jordan's Husayn	22
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	
U.S. Imperialist Ambitions Attacked (PRAVDA, 1 Mar 85) .....	23
RUDE PRAVO Cited on U.S. Foreign Policy (CTK, 25 May 85) .....	26
AAPSO Information Session in Prague Issues Communique (CTK, 25 May 85) .....	27
CSSR Foreign Minister Visits Arab Countries (Boris Latta; PRAVDA, 25 Apr 85) .....	28
Child Care in Czechoslovakia (RUDE PRAVO, 31 May 85) .....	30
CTK Reports Speech by Women's Union Chairman (CTK, 10 Jun 85) .....	32
Cultural Activities of Hungarian Minority (PRAVDA, 21 Feb 85) .....	34
Briefs	
Meeting With President Suharto	35
U.S. Youths Prepare for Moscow Conference	35
GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC	
University Faculty Shortage Concerns Ministry (IWE TAGESDIENST, No 73, 17 May 85) .....	36
Briefs	
Mathematician Shortage Reported	38



## HUNGARY

Cardinal Mindszenty's Arrest, Imprisonment by Arrow Cross (Janos Hetenyi; UJ EMBER, 24 Feb, 10 Mar 85) .....	39
Popieluszko's Murderers, Hungarian Supporters Condemned (Sandor Fekete; UJ TUKOR, 5 May 85) .....	44

## POLAND

New Katowice Province Governor (TRYBUNA LUDU, 18-19 May 85) .....	48
'POLITYKA' Poll Plumbs Depths of Social Anomie (Witold Pawlowski; POLITYKA, No 17, 27 Apr 85) .....	49
'POLITYKA's' Weekly Opinion Roundup (POLITYKA, No 20, 18 May 85) .....	60
Religious Freedom Defense Group Visits (TRYBUNA LUDU, 22 May 85) .....	62
Personnel Policy Review in Internal Affairs Ministry (TRYBUNA LUDU, 18-19 May 85) .....	63
Briefs New Journalists Club .....	64

## ROMANIA

New Border Crossing Control Points (BULETINUL OFICIAL, No 24, 14 May 85) .....	65
Briefs Interior Ministry Appointments .....	66
Agricultural Appointment .....	66

## YUGOSLAVIA

New Law Permits Term Enlistments in Armed Forces (Miroslav Lazanski; START, No 422, 23 Mar 85) .....	67
Planinc, Mugabe Give Belgrade Luncheon Toasts (TANJUG, 25 May 85) .....	73
Ljubicic Addresses Krusevac Aktiv Meeting on Economy (TANJUG, 23 May 85) .....	76
Mamula Greets Army Personnel on Youth Day (TANJUG, 24 May 85) .....	78

Vidic Presents Report at LCY Commission Session (TANJUG, 22 May 85) .....	80
Dizdarevic Discusses Nonalignment, Economy, Albania, Emigres (Disa Hastad; DAGENS NYHETER, 17 May 85) .....	81
TV Shows Attendance at 8 May Presidium Session (Belgrade Television Service, 8 May 85) .....	85
Briefs	
Dagestan Delegation Visits Kosovo	86
Mamula Returns From France	86
Pula Court Jails Student	86
'Nationalist' Singer Sentenced	86
Dizdarevic Message to DPRK	87
Vlajkovic Awards French Ambassador	87
Orthodox, Catholic Leaders Meet	87
Sukrija Returns From France	87
Army Helicopter Crash	88
Sarajevo Committee President Reelected	88
New Serbian Journalists' Chief	88
Algerian Cultural Cooperation	88
Jazic Ends Angola Talks	88
New TU Council President	89
Calovski Ambassador to UK	89
No Macedonian History Books in Bulgaria	89

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

CEAULESCU, DASCALESCU MESSAGE TO CZECH COUNTERPARTS

Romanians Commemorate Czech Liberation Day

AU101248 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 9 May 85 p 6

[Message by RCP Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu and Premier Constantin Dascalescu to their Czechoslovak counterparts on the 40th Anniversary of the CSSR Liberation from Fascist domination]

[Text] To Comrade Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and CSSR president; to Comrade Lubomir Strougal, CSSR premier; dear comrades:

On behalf of the RCP Central Committee, the Council of State and government of the SR of Romania, the Romanian people, and on our own behalf, we convey to you, the CPCZ Central Committee, the government and people of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, comradely greetings and warmest congratulations on the 40th anniversary of Czechoslovakia's liberation.

An event of historic importance for the destinies of the Czechoslovak people, Czechoslovakia's liberation from fascism--to whose achievement, alongside the Soviet Armies, the Romanian Army made a significant contribution, through the heroic battles it waged and the important human and material sacrifices--opened up the path of deep socioeconomic changes in the life of the Czech and Slovak people.

The Romanian people follow with interest and sincerely rejoice in the outstanding achievements attained by the Czechoslovak people under the leadership of their Communist Party, during the period which has elapsed since this memorable event, achievements registered in the economy, on social and scientific levels, and on the road of building a developed socialist society in your country.

We learn with particular satisfaction that by acting in the spirit of understanding reached during our high level meetings and talks, the traditional relations of friendship and cooperation between the RCP and the CPCZ and between the SR of Romania and the CSSR register an ever ascending course. We are convinced that these relations will further develop, based on the principles and provisions of the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance and of the joint Romanian-Czechoslovak Declaration of 1981, for the benefit of our peoples and in the interest of the cause of socialism, independence, and of the

struggle to halt the arms race, primarily the nuclear arms race, and the passage to disarmament and to ensuring lasting peace throughout the world.

On this jubilee anniversary, we convey to you, dear comrades, and to all the Czechoslovak peoples, wishes for new and important successes in fulfilling the objectives set forward by the 14th CPCZ Congress.

Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the SR of Romania.

Constantin Dascalescu, premier of the government of the SR of Romania.

#### Verdet Meets Husak

AU081942 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1910 GMT 8 May 85

[Text] Prague (AGERPRES) 8/5/1985

--On behalf of RCP General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu, president of Romania, a warm comradely salute and cordial congratulations and ever more important successes in the construction of the developed socialist society in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic were conveyed to Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CC of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

A thanking Gustav Husak [as received] asked that President Nicolae Ceausescu be conveyed on his behalf and on that of the Czechoslovak people a cordial salute of friendship and best wishes of good health, new and ever greater successes in the work of building the multilaterally developed socialist society in Romania.

The exchange of messages was occasioned by the call paid on the Czechoslovak leader by Ilie Verdet, member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, head of a Romanian party and state delegation participating in the events devoted to the 40th celebration of Czechoslovakia's liberation from the fascist occupation.

During the interview the sides noted with satisfaction the ascending evolution of the ties of friendship and collaboration between the RCP and the CPCZ, between Romania and Czechoslovakia, expressing the conviction that the fruitful relationships between the two countries would develop continuously in the interest of the two peoples, of the cause of socialism and peace in the world.

#### News Conference on Liberation

AU061433 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1145 GMT 6 May 85

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 6/5/1985--During a news conference occasioned by the 40th anniversary of Czechoslovakia's liberation from fascist domination, that country's ambassador in Bucharest, Jan Papp, highlighted the Czechoslovak people's heroic fights against fascism, placing emphasis on the major contribution of the Soviet and Romanian military, to the sacrifices the two armies made for Czechoslovakia's liberation.

The Czechoslovak ambassador also underscored the fine links of friendship between the RCP and the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, between the two countries the peoples, pointing out that a decisive contribution to the development and expansion of those ties was made by the meetings and talks between presidents Nicolae Ceausescu and Gustav Husak.

#### Officials Greet Czech Counterparts

AU100950 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 9 May 85 p 6

[Text] On the 40th anniversary of Czechoslovakia's liberation from fascist domination, Comrades Nicolae Giosan, chairman of the Grand National Assembly; Stefan Andrei, minister of foreign affairs, and Colonel General Constantin Olteanu, minister of national defense have sent congratulatory cables to their counterparts in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. At the same time, greeting messages were sent to similar institutions and organizations in the CSSR by the National Council of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front, the Central Council of the General Union of the Romanian Trade Unions, the Union of Communist Youth Central Committee, and by other central institutions and mass and civic organizations.

#### Bucharest SCINTEIA on CSSR National Day

AU101546 [Editorial Report] Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian on 9 May carries on page GY a 1,800-word article titled "an event of historical importance in the life of the Czechoslovak people" by Nicolae Constantin, member of the political executive committee of the RCP Central Committee, deputy prime minister of the government, chairman of the Romanian side in the Romanian-Czechoslovak Joint Governmental Commission of Economic and Technical-Scientific Cooperation.

The article opens with the assertion of the Romanian people's feelings of "esteem and friendship for the fraternal Czechoslovak people," the author then gives historical information on the Romanian and Czechoslovak peoples joint struggle against fascism when "the durability and depth of our peoples' friendship was fully manifested in the years of World War II, when the Romanian Army, alongside the Soviet armies and the Czech and Slovak patriots, as well as the entire anti-Hitlerite coalition, made their contribution to liberating Czechoslovakia from the Hitlerite yoke."

The author goes on to enumerate the places where the Romanian Army fought on Czechoslovak territory and states that "more than 5,600 Romanian soldiers and officers were awarded Czechoslovak military orders and medals for the heroism they showed on the battlefield."

The author gives an account of the achievements registered by the Czechoslovak people during the years of socialism, and emphasizes the good relations existing between Romania and the CSSR in the spirit of Treaty of Friendship signed in 1968, the joint declarations of 1977 and 1981, and the summit meetings between the two countries' leaders. The author points out the development of goods exchanges between the two countries in all economic fields, as well as cooperation in the fields of education, culture, arts and sports.

The author concludes by conveying best wishes to the Czechoslovak people on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of their homeland's liberation.

#### Verdet Attends CSSR Wreath Laying

AU101004 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0940 GMT 10 May 85

[Text] Prague (AGERPRES) 10/5/1985--A Romanian party and state delegation led by Ilie Verdet, member of the Political Executive Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, attending the Prague celebrations to mark 40 years since the liberation of Czechoslovakia, laid wreaths at the Memorial to the Unknown Soldier and the Soviet Soldiers Memorial in the capital city of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.

A floral wreath was laid by the Romanian Party and state delegation at the Memorial to the Romanian Soldiers who died in the battles for the liberation of Czechoslovakia, in the town of Havlickuv Brod, as part of a tribute-paying ceremony where, a wreath was also laid in the name of the local party and at the bodies.

Wreaths and flowers were laid at the memorials to the Romanian soldiers in the towns of Humepelc and Brno, at the Romanian Heroes' Cemetery in Banska Bystrica and at the memorials to the Romanian heroes who fell in the battles for the liberation of Southern Moravia.

#### Embassy Reception Marks Liberation Day

AU101450 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1842 GMT 8 May 85

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 8/5/1985--On the 40th anniversary of Czechoslovakia's liberation from fascist domination, that country's ambassador in Bucharest, Jan Papp, gave a reception on 8 May.

Emil Bobu, Nicolae Constantin, Gheorghe Oprea, Ana Muresan, Io Stoian, as well as ministers, executives of central institutions, mass and public organizations, party and state activists, generals and senior officers, personalities of the cultural and scientific life, journalists were present.

Heads of diplomatic missions accredited to Romania and members of the diplomatic corps attended.

CSO: 2020/130

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

HUNGARIANS THANK ROMANIANS FOR GREETINGS--To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the SR of Romania, and Comrade Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of the government of the SR of Romania. On behalf of the MSZMP Central Committee, the Presidential Council, and government of the Hungarian People's Republic, and on behalf of the Hungarian people, please permit me to express sincere thanks for the congratulations and wishes you conveyed on our national day--the 40th anniversary of Hungary's liberation. On this occasion, too, we want to express the conviction that strengthening cooperation between our parties and governments, and relations of good-neighborliness between our peoples--in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism--will serve both the interests of our countries and peoples and those of the socialist community. Janos Kadar, general secretary of the MSZMP; Pal Losonczi, president of the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic; and Gyorgy Lazar, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic. [Text] [Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 16 May 85 p 5 AU]

CSO: 2020/130

BULGARIA

ARMY DISCUSSES IDEOLOGICAL WORK ON JUBILEES

AU291056 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 27 May 85 p 2

[Excerpts] The Bureau of the People's Army Main Political Administration recently discussed a report on the activities of commanders, political organs, deputy commanders of political affairs, party, trade union and Komsomol organizations within the army with regard to the celebrations on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the victory of fascism and Japanese militarism, on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of signing the Warsaw Pact, and on the occasion of other anniversaries.

In discussing these issues it was pointed out that purpose-oriented organizational and ideological-education work connected with the celebration of anniversaries is being accomplished in the army. The majority of commanders, political organs, deputy commanders of political affairs, as well as party and Komsomol leading bodies are dealing capably with the basic trends and accents pointed out in the decisions of the BCP Central Committee as regards the celebration of important anniversaries. In most places efforts are devoted to better utilization of the rich ideological and emotional meaning of the anniversaries in enhancing the class-party, patriotic and internationalist education of soldiers.

Ideological campaigns connected with anniversaries are used by many detachments for the purpose of organizing common political days, meetings with active fighters against fascism and capitalism, with active fighters against fascism and capitalism, with veterans from the Fatherland War, as well as with distinguished Bulgarian military leaders, with generals and officers from the Soviet Army, and from the armies of other fraternal countries. Special evenings and Quiz games, as well as scientific-theoretical conferences are organized in the course of such campaigns, and so forth. The festivals of amateur arts activities in the detachments were also held under the auspices of these remarkable anniversaries.

The organizational and ideological-educational work devoted to the 40th anniversary of victory over fascism and Japanese militarism, as well as the 30th anniversary of the Warsaw Pact, to a certain extent contributed to improving political consciousness and social activities and to increasing the sense of responsibility of soldiers for the high standard and efficient accom-



plishment of the tasks facing the troops, for a further improvement of their patriotic, class-party, and international education and contributed to intensifying their hatred of contemporary imperialism.

The Bureau of the Main Political Administration pointed out certain shortcomings and mapped out specific measures for further enriching, intensifying and improving the standards of ideological-educational and mass-political work connected with the celebration of anniversaries.

It was pointed out that it is necessary to assess the trends and accents of the ideological campaign in a more efficient manner, trends and accents, which are contained in the decisions of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and in the plan-program of the BCP Central Committee mapped out for the jubilees. A decisive struggle must be waged against occasional occurrences of excessive quotation mania, too many historical references, and unnecessary rhetoric. Efforts must be concentrated on implementing activities mainly in small units--namely in companies (or batteries). It was stressed that it is necessary to consider a differentiation of measures as regards various categories of military personnel, and point out the necessity of infusing all measures with an emotional content, so that they may exert their influence both upon the spirit and mind of the soldier. The Bureau of the Main Political Administration calls attention to the demand that ideological-educational work must be organized, prepared, and implemented so as to promote patriotism and love for the Soviet country and army, as well as for the fraternal peoples, and for their armed forces. It is necessary for every action of ideological work to reach the minds and hearts of every soldier, in order to build up patriotism and military virtues among the officers, NCO's and soldiers.

Activities devoted to anniversaries must now concentrate mainly on explanation of the decision to extend the Warsaw Pact adopted by the high-ranking party and state leaders from the fraternal, socialist countries and on the necessity of a further comprehensive consolidation of this alliance, under the circumstances of a considerably aggravated military-political world situation, for which imperialism is responsible. This must be most closely linked to the systematic unmasking of the aggressive character of contemporary imperialism. The role of the Warsaw Pact as a real mainstay of peace, security and progress must be explained and emphasized.

The Bureau of the Main Political Administration of the People's Army is assigned the task of intensifying ideological-educational work devoted to the centennial of Bulgaria's reunification and to the anniversary of the victory of the heroic Bulgarian Army in the Serbian-Bulgarian War which will be celebrated in 1985. In these activities the commanders and political organs are requested to seek guidance from the relevant documents dealing with these anniversaries.

CSO: 2200/156

BULGARIA

MAINTENANCE OF CHEMICAL WARFARE EQUIPMENT RECOMMENDED

Sofia SERZHANT in Bulgarian No 4, 1985 pp 34-35

[Article by Col Veliko Ralchev: "Maintenance and Storage of Chemical Warfare Equipment"]

[Text] In keeping with the Interior Service Regulations of the Armed Forces of the Bulgarian People's Republic, subunit commanders bear complete responsibility for the maintenance, care and storage of chemical warfare equipment. During work and use chemical warfare items are subjected to dynamic stress and the effect of corrosive pressure fluids, moisture and sharp temperature fluctuations resulting in defects, deterioration of their service properties and, in some cases, in their becoming prematurely unserviceable. This makes imperative scheduling and carrying out their timely maintenance and proper servicing.

Correct maintenance of KhVTI [expansion unknown; possible khimichesko vuoruzhenie, tekhnika, imushtestvo; chemical munitions, equipment and supplies] items consists in the repair of minor defects of the special equipment of chemical machines, sets, instruments, radiation monitors and means of protection through the replacement of individual parts, components and units. It is usually performed immediately after the detection of the damage or soon after completion of the job during maintenance of machines and instruments. The volume, character and quality of current maintenance depend on the servicing team (crew, squad), on its skills and on its technical capabilities (tools, equipment and materials at its disposal). A good example in this regard is provided by Sergeant Ivanov, of the unit in which Officer Stefanov serves, who keeps the special chemical machines of the subunit always technically serviceable and fit for use. In this activity he performs the following types of operations: he replaces from the basic sets components, assemblies and other parts that have got out of order; repairs specific minor damage (fastening and adjusting); replaces worn-out or unserviceable parts; does electrical and assembly-fitter work; removes rust and paints bare spots from which the paint has come off.

Current maintenance is performed by teams (crews) during technical servicing and during work on the special equipment of machines, sets and radiation monitors with the help of mobile or portable repair equipment (PRKhR-1, repair bags and chests). In some cases when welding, electrical, painting and other jobs are required, these have to be done at fixed chemical workshops or at field

workshops PRKhM-1/3. During current maintenance the disassembly and adjustment of assemblies and components of machines and instruments are permitted.

Radiation monitors which cannot be repaired in the subunits are handed over to the chemical sections of the technical workshops at a higher echelon. In the practice of Master Sergeant Marinov, of the unit where Officer Mitev serves, instruments are dispatched for repair after being well cleaned and made up into complete sets according to the data card or description. The instruments have in addition an accompanying document--a copy of the certificate of inspection by the unit's technical commission. In it are indicated the defects of the instruments that have been handed over and the presumed type of repair.

Keeping chemical warfare equipment in serviceable condition and in readiness for distribution to the troops is assured through observance of the specified requirements for its proper storage in the subunits. Shelf lives are specified for all chemical warfare items.

Shelf life is the time during which chemical warfare items, stored under the conditions stipulated in the technical documentation, meet established specifications.

Chemical warfare items must be stored under conditions that rule out as far as possible exposure to harmful environmental factors causing corrosion of the metals and aging of the materials. The principal biological and climatic factors that affect items during storage are: air temperature and humidity; condensed moisture (dew, mist); the corrosively active agents of polluted air; solar radiation.

The maintenance of optimum temperature and relative humidity in the depots is one of the most important measures and the duty of a superintendent of a chemical-equipment storage depot. Therefore the storage places must be weather-resistant and permit no sharp fluctuations of temperature and humidity. Temperature and relative air humidity in storage places for chemical warfare equipment must be controlled. Fixed or portable appliances are furnished to effect this control. At the time of measurement the appliances must be 1.5 m above the floor and no nearer than 2 m to doors or heating systems. Air temperature and relative humidity are determined every day at a specified time. The obtained data are entered in a daily logbook. The example of Master Sergeants Vasiliev, Georgiev and Dimitrov, in the subunit where Officer Petrov serves, is a good one. They organize their work best, comply with all requirements for the storage of chemical-warfare equipment in a first-class manner and on time, and their storage places are always exemplary. Every year at the times specified according to the plan of their chiefs they make a technical inspection and service all equipment. In these inspections they check the overall conditions of the items, inventory the equipment and determine its fitness for combat employment.

In storing equipment and materials they group them by kinds and types, by modifications, by purpose, by times of production and by categories. Training materials are stored on separate racks or pallets with a sign "Training." Items of only one kind are stored in one place, but in the event of a shortage of

depot space materials are arranged with a view to the feasibility of their joint storage. In every depot safety-first instructions have been worked out for the storage of types of equipment.

These sergeants are some of the pioneers in establishing modern depot facilities for the storage of chemical warfare equipment. They personally participate in the construction of the depots and know well that what has been done must be treasured. Therefore, periodically they check the good condition of the electrical system and the firefighting equipment. They spare no energy or time for the exemplary maintenance and storage of the chemical warfare equipment entrusted to them. By their personal example they help other non-commissioned officers to realize their part in raising combat readiness to the level of modern requirements. Special care is given to the items of KhVTI distributed for service and use in the subunits. Every day after drill they are cleaned, dried and stored in pyramids, while radiation monitors are placed in locking cases. Instruments which are not used regularly (interval between use greater than 10 days) must without fail be mothballed for storage. In storing radiation monitors under field conditions (on training exercises, firing range practice) all possible measures are taken to protect them against moisture, rain, snow and dust as well as exposure to the direct rays of the sun.

Radiation reconnaissance equipment installed in armored carriers, motor vehicles and tanks, in the event of long storage and in the event of interruption of the use of the machines for more than a month, is mothballed and in specified cases is removed and after mothballing stored in warehouses.

In keeping with the Interior Service Regulations of the Armed Forces of the Bulgarian People's Republic and with the regulatory documents of the firefighting service in the Bulgarian People's Army, in the storage of chemical warfare equipment fire-prevention measures are established in order to avert fires at the sites for the storage of chemical equipment. In the summer, in addition tanks of water and buckets are placed near all depots so that there is one bucket and one tank for every 500-600 sq m of depot floor space. Special measures in this regard are taken in premises where special materials, etc., are stored.

Proper organization and performance of maintenance and storage of chemical warfare equipment by the officials responsible for it contributes to keeping it in serviceable condition and in readiness for distribution to the troops and thus to raising the combat readiness of the subunits.

6474

CSO: 2200/151

BULGARIA

PAPAL ASSASSINATION SUSPECT ARRESTED IN NETHERLANDS

AU011439 Paris AFP in English 1051 GMT 1 Jun 85

[Spelling of all Turkish names as received]

[Text] Ankara, 1 June (AFP)--A Turk believed to be implicated in the attempted assassination of John Paul II and arrested in the Netherlands during the pope's visit last month has been identified as Samet Aslan by his parents.

The newspaper HURRIYET today said Kamal and Sahperi Aslan identified their son from a photograph. They said he had disappeared in June 1980, and they believed he was dead.

The man who was arrested on 14 May had in his possession a weapon said to be part of the same issue as that used in the 1981 shooting of the pope.

HURRIYET said Mr Aslan, 24, belonged to the extreme right-wing Grey Wolves, as did convicted would-be papal assassin Mehmet Ali Agca.

Mr Aslan is reportedly being sought by police on murder charges.

The newspapers TERCUMAN reported 2 days ago that the arrested Turk was Oral Celik, said to be Mr Agca's superior in the Grey Wolves, who is also wanted in connection with the papal assassination attempt.

CSO: 2200/156

BULGARIA

BULGARIAN-CONGOLESE DECLARATION PUBLISHED

AU280942 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 26 May 85 pp 1, 2

["Declaration on developing relations of Friendship and Cooperation Between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the People's Republic of Congo"]

[Text] The People's Republic of Bulgaria and the People's Republic of Congo,

Expressing full satisfaction with their versatile and mutually beneficial cooperation, based on the principles of scientific socialism and proletarian internationalism,

Noting the existence of untapped possibilities of developing, expanding, and strengthening their friendly relations, which are in the interest of the two peoples and their economic, social and cultural progress, as well as the cause of world peace and international understanding,

Expressing serious concern over the arms race provoked by imperialism, and especially the nuclear arms race and the plans to transfer it to space, something which increases the danger of a world nuclear conflict and directs great resources to goals which contradict the interest of mankind.

Recognizing the responsibility of all states, regardless of their social and political system, for strengthening world peace, security and cooperation,

Striving to make their contribution to stripping the arms race and adopting effective measures for disarmament and, especially in the nuclear area, to preventing the militarization of space, strengthening peace, security, and cooperation, restoring the process of detente in international relations, strengthening the political and economic independence of the developing countries, finally liquidating colonialism, to the struggle against neocolonialism, racism and apartheid, to reconstructing international economic relations on a just and democratic basis, and to the nations' attainment of social progress,

Confirming their unreserved solidarity with the just struggle of the peoples in Africa and other regions who are suffering under political, economic and racial oppression, considering that the support of and cooperation with the countries of the socialist community are an important factor in the defense and success of this just cause,

Convinced that the remnants of colonial independence and neocolonialism are incompatible with the UN Charter and the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples,

Inspired by the principles and goals of the UN Charter,

Festively declare:

## I

The People's Republic of Bulgaria and the People's Republic of the Congo,

--On the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, respecting sovereignty, territorial integrity, noninterference in internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, will develop and strengthen relations of friendship and close cooperation in the political, economic, scientific-technological, and cultural areas, in the interest of the two peoples and world peace;

--Will work to further develop friendship and cooperation between the BCP and the Congolese Labor Party, as well as between the two countries' parliaments, governments, institutions, and public, scientific and creative organizations.

## II

The People's Republic of Bulgaria and the People's Republic of Congo,

--Will make their contribution to strengthening world peace and security and developing international cooperation, will render full support to the United Nations, and will cooperate in increasing its effectiveness in implementing its noble goals;

--Will support all efforts to stop the arms race, first of all the nuclear one, and foil the plans to militarize space, and will make their contribution to creating nuclear-free zones in the world, including the Balkans and Africa, and to continuing the process of detente;

--Will work steadily to fully implement the UN Declaration on the Granting of Independence to the Colonial Countries and Peoples, and will render full support to the struggle and efforts of the developing countries to achieve independence and social progress:

--Will consult each other and cooperate on international matters of mutual interest.

## III

The People's Republic of Bulgaria and the People's Republic of Congo declare that the present declaration does not violate the two countries obligations springing from international agreements, hitherto, and that they will not undertake any actions incompatible with this Declaration.



Written in Sofia on 22 May 1985 in two original copies in the Bulgarian and French languages, the two texts having equal power.

For the People's Republic of Bulgaria: Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

For the People's Republic of Congo: Denis Sassou-Nguesso, chairman of the Central Committee of the Congolese Labor Party and leader of the government of the People's Republic of Congo.

He spoke about the foreign policy of the People's Republic of Congo aimed against imperialism, colonialism, racism, and apartheid, as well as about the efforts of the People's Republic of Congo to strengthen the OAU, and solve the problems of Africa along the road of negotiations.

Todor Zhivkov highly evaluated the successes of the friendly Congolese people in the struggle which revealed the road of constructing the socialist society and in conducting the principled and peaceloving foreign policy of the Republic of Congo. [sentence as published]

The two leaders expressed satisfaction with the relations of fraternal cooperation, based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, existing between the BCP and the CLP, and stressed that these relations have a decisive importance in the ascending development of relations of friendship and cooperation between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the People's Republic of Congo, in the interest of the Bulgarian and Congolese peoples. They pointed out their mutual willingness and readiness to continue further their mutual efforts on expanding and strengthening bilateral relations in the political, economic, and cultural areas.

The two leaders expressed their joint willingness that the mutually beneficial cultural and scientific-technological cooperation between the two countries develop further on a long-term basis. They positively evaluated the work of the Joint Bulgarian-Congolese Commission on Economic, Cultural and Scientific-Technological Cooperation, and, in particular, the results of its seventh session, which took place in Sofia from 24 to 27 April 1985, and noted with satisfaction that the Joint Commission has an active role in developing economic cooperation between the two countries.

During the visit, Todor Zhivkov and Denis Sassou-Nguesso signed a declaration on developing relations of friendship and cooperation between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the People's Republic of Congo, highly evaluating the significance of this document in further developing and strengthening comprehensive relations between the two countries and peoples.

A protocol on continuing the term of action of the credit agreement, and a plan on cultural cooperation during the years 1985-1987 were also signed.

Todor Zhivkov and Denis Sassou-Nguesso reviewed the situation in the world. They noted with satisfaction that the two countries' positions on the basic and topical international issues coincide.



They expressed their serious concern with the existing tension in international relations, evoked by the arms race imposed by imperialism and its attempts to achieve military superiority. The two leaders condemned the programs to militarize space as particularly dangerous for world peace.

During the talks it was stressed that the most important and urgent problem now faced by mankind is to prevent the nuclear catastrophe, stop the arms race, prevent its transfer to space, and adopt effective measures on disarmament, especially in the nuclear area. Todor Zhivkov and Denis Sassou-Nguesso expressed their conviction that the solution of the important issues of disarmament and other global issues of mankind can be achieved only through honest, businesslike, and equal dialogue, which takes into consideration the interests of all peoples, and is based on the principles of equality and equal security of all states. The necessity was stressed of strictly observing the agreements on the complex character of the USSR-U.S. talks on nuclear and space weapons in their mutual relation.

Support was expressed for many peaceful initiatives of the Warsaw Pact member-countries, aimed at creating conditions of serious talks, whose final goals should be full and general disarmament, and intensifying the process of detente, toward which not only the European people strive, but the entire world.

Noting the 40th anniversary of the historic victory over Hitlerite fascism in World War II, the two sides support the 9 May appeal of the USSR to the peoples, parliaments, and governments of all countries on decreasing tension in international relations and protecting world peace.

Dwelling on the situation in Africa, the two leaders noted the positive efforts of the African countries to strengthen their unity in the struggle for liquidating the last remnants of colonialism, against racism, apartheid, and the neo-colonialist policy of imperialism, for protecting peace and developing equal cooperation in Africa and the world, and for solving the existing problems along the road of negotiations.

The important role of the OAU was stressed in the struggle against colonialism, racism, and apartheid, and for further strengthening the political independence and economic self-reliance of the African countries.

Todor Zhivkov and Denis Sassou-Nguesso stressed their full support for the just liberation struggle of the Namibian people under the leadership of their only legal representative--the South West African People's Organization [SWAPO]--and stressed that the just solution of the Namibian problem can only be achieved by applying Resolution 435 (1978) of the UN Security Council, without connecting it artificially with other issues that have nothing to do with it. The two sides categorically rejected and condemned the decision of Pretoria to create a puppet government on the territory of Namibia, with the aim of preventing the granting of true independence to the country.

They expressed their unreserved solidarity with the struggle of the South African people under the leadership of the African National Congress, against the policy of apartheid and for the national liberation of their country.

Todor Zhivkov and Denis Sassou-Nguesso denounced the actions of Pretoria, aimed at destabilizing the neighboring independent African states.

The leaders of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the People's Republic of Congo expressed their concern with the continuing conflict in Chad. They are convinced that it can be solved only through talks on national reconciliation between the sides of the conflict, under the mediation of the OAU.

Todor Zhivkov and Denis Sassou-Nguesso stressed the important role of the Nonaligned Movement in the struggle for strengthening international peace and security, and for understanding and cooperation among nations.

The two party and state leaders denounced the use of economic relations as a means of applying political pressure and interference in the internal affairs of the states. They confirmed the sovereign right of every people over their national wealth and supported the reconstruction of international economic relations on a just and democratic basis.

During the talks, the sides confirmed their loyalty to the principles incorporated in the UN Charter. A wish was expressed to further increase the authority of the world organization and its role in protecting and strengthening peace and security in the world.

Todor Zhivkov and Denis Sassou-Nguesso expressed satisfaction with the atmosphere of mutual understanding in which the talks took place. In conclusion they noted that the results achieved will contribute to expanding cooperation between the two countries.

Denis Sassou-Nguesso cordially thanked Todor Zhivkov and the entire Bulgarian people for the warm and fraternal hospitality shown to him and the entire delegation. He invited Todor Zhivkov to make an official visit to the People's Republic of Congo. The invitation was accepted with gratitude. The date will be coordinated through diplomatic channels.

CSO: 2200/156

BULGARIA

MILITARY TATOO MARKS BOTEV DAY ANNIVERSARY

AU011925 [Editorial Report] Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian at 1815 GMT on 1 June carries a 47-minute relay from Sofia's 9 September Square of a festive military tatoo marking Botev Day and the day of those who fell in the struggle against Ottoman oppression, capitalism, and fascism, and in the Fatherland War. The announcer says that "military units from the Sofia garrison and Komsomol and pioneer units are lined up in the square" to honor the memory of the dead heroes.

At 1817 GMT Colonel Angel Gerasimov, commander of the tatoo, reports to Lieutenant General Lyubcho Toshkov, who reviews and greets the units lined up on the square. The announcer then notes that standing on the trioune are "Comrades Grisha Filipov, Dobri Dzhurov, Georgi Atanasov, Georgi Yordanov, Stoyan Karadzhov, and Leonid Grekov, USSR ambassador to Bulgaria."

At 1822 GMT Lazar Stamboliev, chairman of the Sofia City Fatherland Front organization, opens the tatoo by reading the names of the public and social organizations which have organized the meeting, and then gives the floor to Colonel General Tencho Papazov, deputy minister of national defense, who begins his speech at 1823 GMT.

Papazpv speaks about the significance of the struggle of Khristo Botev and his unit against Ottoman oppression. "Botev illuminated the struggle of the people for freedom," he points out. "Botev was the first Bulgarian who perceived the communist future of mankind." Papazov mentions the names of other fighters who perished in the struggle against the Ottoman oppression and expresses "warm gratitude to the Russian heroes, who with legendary courage won freedom for our oppressed people." Further on he glorifies the memory of the "new apostles who, led by the BCP, guided the people toward the socialist revolution." In this context he mentions again "the victorious march of the Soviet soldiers" during the socialist revolution and expresses "his understandable pride" over Bulgaria's contribution to the final victory in World War II. "More than 30,000 Bulgarian soldiers shed their blood in the fields of Serbia, Hungary and Austria." Their sacrifice was not wasted, Papazov states, dwelling on Bulgaria's successes in various areas. He links these successes to the "wise April policy of the BCP, led by the loyal son of the people and the faithful continuer of the cause of Dimitrov and Blagoev, our first party and state leader, Comrade Todor Zhivkov."

Papazov then denounces "the attempts of U.S. imperialism to violate the military balance of power, intensify the arms race, and militarize space. The USSR and the socialist countries answer this policy with a consistent policy aimed at strengthening peace." In this context he mentions "Bulgaria's worthy contribution to strengthening the defensive power of the Warsaw Pact." Papazov stresses the readiness of the Bulgarian soldiers to implement their patriotic and international duty and defend the achievements of peace and socialism.

Col Gen Papazov concludes his speech at 1840 GMT without discussing any other topical international issues. The announcer then announces the beginning of the festive roll call. Names of fallen Bulgarian heroes are read.

At 1847 GMT the commanders of the units lined up at the square report to Col Gerasimov, who on his part reports to Grisha Filipov, chairman of the Council of Ministers.

At 1852 GMT those attending the tattoo are requested to kneel in honor of the fallen heroes. Wreaths are laid at the Georgi Dimitrov mausoleum on behalf of the BCP Central Committee and all leading mass political and public organizations. Afterwards a bugle call is heard and a military band plays a festive march. The Bulgarian national anthem follows. The live relay ends at 1902 GMT.

CSO: 2200/156

24 June 1985

## BULGARIA

## ZHIVKOV MESSAGE TO FISE CONGRESS READ

AU291137 [Editorial Report] Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian on 25 May carries on pages 1 and 6 an 800-word greeting message from Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the State Council, to the 13th conference of the International Federation of Teachers' and Educational Workers Trade Union (FISE), which -opened on 24 May at the Sofia "Lyudmila Zhivkova" palace of culture.

Todor Zhivkov's message was read by Georgi Atanasov, secretary of the BCP Central Committee.

The message expresses pleasure that Bulgaria is host to this conference and wishes the delegates successful work, as well as a pleasant stay in Bulgaria.

Zhivkov's message further praises the "progressive and democratic goals of the organization," pointing out the postulates for "education accessible to everyone, regardless of race, sex, or color of skin" professed by the FISE, and further adds that the organization "defends the rights and freedoms of teachers and educational workers, and exerts solidarity with working people and with all nations struggling for national liberation and for an independent socioeconomic development."

Zhivkov's message, further points out that in Bulgaria the teaching profession has old and glorious traditions. The message describes the situation of teachers today in the following manner: "To be a teacher in the People's Republic of Bulgarian today is a question of duty, honor and pride. Our people are surrounding the Bulgarian teachers with love and deep gratitude, and highly appreciate their noble efforts to educate the young generation--the most precious resource of every country."

Zhivkov's message further dwells on the celebration of Cyril and Methodius Day--24 May--as well as on the significance of the children's "Banner of Peace" assembly which will hold an important international conference within the Sofia 2 months.

The greeting message closes with further wishes for fruitful work and successful efforts in the "struggle for democratic education and for enhancing the prestige of the teacher's profession, as well as in defending the rights and freedoms of teachers, their professional and creative development throughout the world," adding that the conference "will be a contribution to the prevention of thermo-nuclear war, to lasting peace in the world, to cooperation and progress."

CSO: 2200/156

24 June 1985

## BULGARIA

## ZHIVKOV GREETES JAPANESE EXPOSITION

AU300748 [Editorial Report] Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian on 29 May on page 1 carries the 400-word "greeting of Comrade Todor Zhivkov," chairman of the State Council, read by him on 28 May in Tsukuba, at the opening of the Bulgarian National Day at the Expo-85 World Exhibition. In his greetings Zhivkov expresses his impressions of the "Humane Content" of the exhibition and greets "the striving of the organizers to show the possibilities of modern scientific-technological progress in developing production and the social environment." Pointing out Bulgaria's "willingness to work to expand confidence, understanding, and cooperation among nations," Zhivkov views Bulgaria's participation in Expo-85 as a "result of the good mutual relations between the two countries."

## ZHIVKOV LETTER TO TENEV

AU040851 [Editorial Report] Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian on 31 May carries on pages 1 and 8 a 300-word report from Khaskovo by a RABOTNICHESKO DELO correspondent on a celebration to mark the 70th birthday of Prof Lyubomir Tenev, meritorious and outstanding figure in the field of arts and culture, as well as scholar in theater arts research.

On the occasion Stoyan Stoyanov, first secretary of the Klhaskovo Okrug BCP Committee, present Prof Tenev with the Georgi Dimitrov order and read the text of a letter from Todor Zhivkov congratulating Lyubomir Tenev on his birthday and pointing out his "valuable contribution to the development of socialist theater arts, his fruitful activities of long standing as a critic, theoretician, lecturer, and public figure." Zhivkov praises Prof Tenev in particular for his "assistance to the ideological and creative development of young, creative artists, and for his "indefatigable struggle waged for the prosperity of socialist culture."

CSO: 2200/156

24 June 1985

## BULGARIA

## BRIEFS

MIKHAYLOV ATTENDS SMOLYAN MEETING--Stoyan Mikhaylov, secretary of the BCP Central Committee, participated in a traditional meeting of secretaries from the Smolyan Okrug basic BCP organizations with members of the Bureau of the Smolyan Okrug BCP Committee, which took place in the town of Smolyan. Comrade Mikhaylov spoke on the necessity of even more active and fruitful work for the successful implementation of the plan for the country's socioeconomic development, as well as for worthily preparing the [word indistinct] BCP Congress. A decree was read on awarding several party secretaries from the okrug for their long-standing active work, and decorations were presented to them. [Text] [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 30 May 85 p 6 AU]

TOURISM OFFICIAL IN DAMASCUS--Damascus, 30 May (SANA)--Bulgarian tourism minister [as received] Luchezar Avramov arrived here today on a visit to Syria that will last several days. During the visit Avramov will hold talks aimed at enhancing and developing tourist cooperation between the two friendly countries and will sign the protocol of the fourth session of the Syrian-Bulgarian Committee on Tourist Cooperation. In a statement following his arrival, the Bulgarian minister said: My visit to Damascus comes within the framework of periodic meetings between the Syrian and Bulgarian committees for cooperation in the field of tourism. He stressed his country's desire to develop cooperation with Syria, especially in the tourist field in implementation of the agreements signed between Damascus and Sofia. [Text] [Damascus SANA in Arabic 1320 GMT 30 May 85 JN]

ALEKSANDOROV RECEIVES AUSTRIAN MINISTER--Sofia, 20 May (BTA)--Today Mr Chudomir Aleksandrov, first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, received Dr Harald Ofner, Austria's minister of justice. They discussed questions of mutual interest in a friendly talk. Ms Svetla Daskalova, minister of justice, was in attendance. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1158 GMT 20 May 85 AU]

BULGARIAN-DPRK CULTURAL COOPERATION--Sofia, 20 May (BTA)--A plan for cultural cooperation between the governments of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea was signed here today at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for the 1985-1986 period. In the spirit of the Treaty for Friendship and Cooperation signed in 1984 between the first party and state leaders of the two countries, Mr Todor Zhivkov and Mr Kim Il-song and in compliance with the Agreement for Cultural Cooperation, this document reflects the concrete expressions of the cultural cooperation between the Bulgarian and



the Korean peoples. The plan covers all spheres of cultural exchange--science and education, culture and art, the mass media, medical care, physical culture and sport. It provides for the exchange of delegations, exhibitions and visits of artists. It will aid the further development of scientific and technological cooperation between the Academies of Sciences and the Agricultural Academies of the two countries. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1215 GMT 20 May 85 AU]

CEMA SHIPBUILDING CONFERENCE--A protocol was signed in Varna on the work of the 58th session of experts in shipbuilding from CEMA member-countries. They discussed important questions of further production sharing and cooperation in production of ships for sea, river and lake navigation, as well as of ship construction and other ship equipment. The session discussed measures for the expansion of scientific-technical cooperation in the sector. The agreement on multilateral cooperation in the shipbuilding and ship machine building sector was extended to 1990. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1930 GMT 17 May 85 AU]

LUKANOV MEETS POLISH MINISTER--Andrey Lukanov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo, yesterday received Anna Kedzierska, minister of domestic trade and public services of Poland. During a talk it was pointed out that growth has been achieved in the exchange of domestic trade goods between the two countries, and that there are still a number of unexploited opportunities in this field. Specific methods were mapped out for achieving progress in this respect. Wladyslaw Napieraj, Polish ambassador to Bulgaria, was present at the meeting. [Text] [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 10 May 85 p 2 AU]

JORDAN FRIENDSHIP SOCIETY--Sofia, 23 May (BTA)--Yesterday's inauguration of a Bulgaro-Jordanian friendship society, which was attended by prominent public, cultural and political figures, is an expression of the good relations, which traditionally exist between the Bulgarian and Jordanian people. The establishment of this society is a response to the willingness of the Bulgarian general public to broaden its contacts with Jordan. The existing Jordanian-Bulgarian friendship society is working actively for the popularization of Bulgarian history, culture and achievements in Jordan. The new public organization will contribute to the better representation of Jordan in Bulgaria, and will acquaint the Bulgarian people with Jordan's history, its successes in the cultural, social and economic fields. Mr Slav Khr. Karaslavov was elected chairman of the society. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 0849 GMT 23 May 85 AU]

ZHIVKOV GREET'S JORDAN'S HUSAYN--Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the State Council, has sent a message to Husayn bin Talal, King of Jordan, on the country's national holiday. The message expresses most sincere greetings and wishes for the prosperity of the Kingdom of Jordan. The message expresses confidence that the relations of mutually beneficial and fruitful cooperation existing between the two countries will continue to develop and strengthen for the benefit of the two peoples and in the interest of peace and international cooperation. Sincere wishes for the prosperity of the friendly Jordanian people have been expressed in the message. [Text] [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO 25 May 85 p 6 AU]

CSO: 2200/156



CZECHOSLOVAKIA

## U.S. IMPERIALIST AMBITIONS ATTACKED

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 1 Mar 85 p 1

[Excerpt] For contemporary development, it is characteristic that the global struggle of the revolutionary forces aiming at the vitally important political, economic and social changes does not end. This is especially true in those countries where colonialism tries to maintain a commanding position. This is evident in the case of the Malvinas, the situation in Namibia as well as in Jamaica, Puerto Rico and elsewhere. Recently, the situation has deteriorated in New Caledonia, a colony which the French euphemistically call an "overseas territory". During the 130 years of French colonial rule there, the number of inhabitants decreased from 145,000 to 63,000. The privileged group consists of the 900 French immigrant families who own more land than the rest of the native population. In addition, there are in New Caledonia almost 3,000 French mercenaries who terrorize the Kanaks--the native people fighting for the independence of New Caledonia. At the same time, these mercenaries act as the protectors of the interests of the corporations exploiting the natural riches of the island. The words of President Mitterrand that the French intend "to maintain their role and strategic presence in this part of the world" reveal what the real goals of the French colonists are.

The same political, military-strategic and economic goals are being pursued in similar cases by all colonial countries. The substance of their policy will hardly be changed by the fact that they occasionally manipulate or color this policy through theoretical practices. Imperialist ambitions to rule the world are especially evident in the activity of the United States of America. With the approval of the highest circles in Washington, we see preparations and the realization of subversive actions against young independent countries with the purpose of bringing them to their knees and forcing them to remain in a state of dependence vis-a-vis neo-colonialists. This goal is served, for example, by the Cobra 76 and Cobra 77 plans worked out by the CIA against the people's Angola, the plans for the Somali aggression against Ethiopia in late 1977 and early 1978, as well as the actions against Mozambique, Zambia, Zimbabwe and other countries.

The Western imperialist circles, especially in the United States, have elevated terrorism to state policy. Through terrorist actions they try to disrupt the systems especially in those developing countries which, after gaining independence, have adopted a progressive non-capitalist path of development. This

can be illustrated by the situation in Nicaragua which has for almost 6 years been the target of open intervention by Washington. The USA tries to weaken Nicaragua's political and economic structure using the specially trained contras and inciting the neighboring Honduras and other countries to become openly hostile. The American President Ronald Reagan openly declares that the United States is decided to use any means to achieve a change in the political orientation, "justifying" this statement by the assertion that Nicaragua allegedly threatens the security of the United States. This is primitive demagoguery. No one with common sense can believe that a country of 2 1/2 million people intends to attack the strongest imperialist superpower with 230 million inhabitants.

What the reactionary government circles in the United States really are afraid of are the ideas of real liberty which in the past had sprouted on the "Island of Freedom" in Cuba and which, as a result of the progressive development in Nicaragua, could grow even more and could also become attractive for other countries of the Western hemisphere. It was for this reason that Washington ordered the aggression against, and the occupation of, Grenada in 1983.

In spite of the brutal pressure by the colonial and neo-colonial powers, a large number of developing countries successfully continue to follow their own path and strive to complete their national democratic revolution by introducing deep social changes and economic measures. They are systematically building up the structures of popular power, limiting the influence of the multinational monopolies and foreign capital, and of the local grand bourgeoisies and feudal lords. They are encouraging the cooperative movement in the countryside, and are increasing the role of the working people in community activities, headed by the avant-garde of the revolutionary democratic and Marxist-Leninist party. This is the situation in Afghanistan, Kampuchea, Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia and elsewhere.

This development, however, is not simple or direct and the revolutionary forces in the young developing countries--because of their small working class and minimal experience in the political struggle--sometimes suffer setbacks. However, it is necessary to understand that the victories are many times more numerous, and the changing map of the world illustrates this fact persuasively. Since the collapse of the colonial system, neo-colonial regimes have been overthrown in a number of developing countries. Even SEATO and CENTO, the aggressive military pacts plotted by American imperialism, fell apart. International imperialism, however, is not giving up and is making no secret of its plans for other, similarly dangerous, aggressive alliances in the northeastern Pacific and southern Atlantic.

The aggressive pressure of the imperialist circles in the USA on developing countries has grown especially during the present American administration. In this context Washington exploits the serious economic situation in the developing countries. Specifically we have seen it recently as Washington tries to exploit the consequences of the tragic drought in tens of African countries.

The period following the achievement of independence thus does not then see the end of the national liberation struggle. Its form is, however, changing under the new conditions because the adversary, too, is altering his strategy and

tactics. Experience has shown that a successful struggle for achieving revolutionary changes is realistic only in those countries which have at the head of this struggle an able political party adopting the positions of Marxism-Leninism. Only by involving the broad masses, including the large rural population and part of the petty and middle bourgeoisie, into the efforts and strengthening of the state independence can the desirable results be achieved.

The decisive significance for the world's national liberation process, however, is the existence of the international socialist system and internationalist assistance which the countries of the socialist community, in the first place the Soviet Union, give to the young countries. This is supplemented by economic cooperation based on the principle of mutual advantage, oriented toward the building of the independent national economies of the young countries. Part of this assistance also represents the necessary means for the defense of their newly won independence because the reactionary forces do not hesitate to use brutal measures. Furthermore, these reactionary forces have at their disposal, almost without any limitation, the military technology of the imperialist countries.

1277

CSO: 2400/366

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

RUDE PRAVO CITED ON U.S. FOREIGN POLICY

LD251116 Prague CTK in English 1034 GMT 25 May 85

[Text] Prague, 25 May (CTK)--The United States ruthlessly seeks military superiority and power to dictate to the world, RUDE PRAVO wrote today. It wraps its plans in words about "protection of U.S. interests" or slanders about a "danger from the East" and sells them as a "peace policy."

By 1990, the U.S.A. wants to have 600 strong combat vessels to prove where the spheres of U.S. "special interests" are and be there with missiles on board. The U.S. faces no attack from space and yet the shuttle Discovery will be an experimental target for a newly developed space weapon. No one is preparing chemical war against the U.S.A. but the U.S. President wants new lethal substances, as if it were not enough that the U.S.A. has 150,000 tonnes of them, some of them on FRG territory near the Czechoslovak borders. The U.S. demands respecting of its territorial sovereignty but is denying New Zealand this right and forcing its vessels with missiles on board upon it, the paper noted.

It said that during his West European tour this month, Reagan made unbinding promises to his allies about his peace effort and outlined the prospects of "chances for everybody in a free world" before young people. However, in the light of four earlier reports in one week--his boasting in Annapolis that the combat strength of the U.S. Navy has increased, his proposal to Congress for resumed production of chemical weapons, the Pentagon admission that the shuttle Discovery will be used for a first "Star Wars" test and news that Secretary of State George Shultz is to exert new pressure on New Zealand--"the promises and prospects are assuming the horrible appearance of as mass murder in the name of 'American interests'."

CSO: 2020/132

24 June 1985

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

AAPSO INFORMATION SESSION IN PRAGUE ISSUES COMMUNIQUE

LD251716 Prague CTK in English 1550 GMT 25 May 85

[Text] Prague, 25 May (CTK)--A link between the struggle for a new information order in the world and for overcoming social and economic backwardness of developing states is stressed in the final document from a session of the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization (AAPSO) Presidium on international information order.

The communique from the session, which ended here today, said that decolonization and democratization of international information exchanges requires mobilization of all forces. The AAPSO will therefore promote traditional contacts with the nonaligned movement, UNESCO and all progressive and democratic organizations.

In a program of actions the participants agreed to organize conferences and seminars on international exchange of information, to exchange journalists between African, Asian and Latin American countries. The Prague session also discussed the possibility to publish a new AAPSO monthly dealing with political and economic problems of developing countries.

At the close of the 2-day session, the participants approved a message to chairman of the Organization of African Unity Julius Nyerere on the 22nd anniversary of the founding of the organization.

It appreciated the preservation of unity of African states and voiced support for the front-line states and the national liberation movements SWAPO of Namibia and ANC of South Africa.

In a message to UNESCO Director-General Amadou Makhtar M'Bow the AAPSO Presidium expressed full support and confidence to him as well as appreciation of his efforts in pushing through constructive programs in information exchange and communications. They condemned the U.S.A. and Great Britain for economic blackmail of UNESCO.

CSO: 2020/132

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CSSR FOREIGN MINISTER VISITS ARAB COUNTRIES

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 25 Apr 85 p 7

[Article by Boris Latta: "Contribution to Cooperation"]

[Text] Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek had just returned from a tour of three countries in the Near East. During this official trip lasting several days, he visited Kuwait, the Yemen Peoples Democratic Republic and the Yemen Arab Republic.

The visit to the three countries had a common denominator, namely, intensification and expansion of relations, from the political to the economic.

Already during the first stop in Kuwait, the two parties repeatedly emphasized the need to expand bilateral relations in various spheres. Results of the deliberations confirmed the stability of CSSR foreign policy in its efforts to develop mutually beneficial relations between countries with different social systems.

The cordial atmosphere characteristic of comrade Chnoupek's talks in Aden, capital of the Yemen Peoples Democratic Republic, again attested to the good relations between our two countries which are bound in friendship. As noted in the final communique reporting the results, the two sides expressed their deep satisfaction with the current state of mutual economic, social, cultural and scientific cooperation, as well as with achievements in our trade exchanges.

During the Foreign Minister's talks in Sana, capital of the Yemen Arab Republic, considerable attention was also devoted to bilateral relations. As stressed at a meeting with President Ali Abdallah Salih, relations between the two countries have traditionally been friendly. As one of the first to recognize the Yemen Arab Republic, Czechoslovakia -- through the words of Bohuslav Chnoupek -- confirmed its interest in broad and multi-faceted mutual relations in many important areas, notably economic cooperation.

It is only logical that during the Foreign Minister's visit in all three countries, problems of the current international situation were high on the agenda. The most incisive in this respect were the deliberations in Aden where both sides noted the great danger of escalating confrontational policies of the imperialists, headed by the United States, policies of which the Near East is also a target.

The talks focused on this region not only in Aden but also in Kuwait and Sana. There was criticism of Israel and its expansionist course aimed against the Arab countries and fully supported by Washington. The deliberations concluded that the problems of the Near East can only be resolved if Israel withdraws from all Arab territories occupied since 1967, guaranteeing all legitimate and inalienable national interest of the Palestinian people, their right of self-determination and establishment of their own independent state on their national territory.

Foreign Minister Chnoupek's visit to Kuwait, the Yemen Peoples Democratic Republic and the Yemen Arab Republic unquestionably represents a milestone in mutual relations. The talks confirmed the desire of all interested parties in continued expansion of mutual contacts and a constructive approach to the resolution of urgent current problems in international relations.

9496

CSO: 2400/411

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CHILD CARE IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 31 May 85 p 1

[Article: "Children--Our Social Wealth"]

[Excerpts] Child abuse in our country truly occurs only in isolated instances. The state knows how to punish such "parents" severely and how to protect children. The care exerted by our socialist state for the family, for motherhood and parenthood, for health and social care, as well as the system for caring for mother and child, belongs in one of the leading places in the world. It encompasses a contribution for the mother and support when a child is born, a system of supplemental payments for children and additional social contributions, maternity leave, health care payments in caring for the child, as well as advantageous loans and other conditions, established for the development of the socialist family, which is seen as the most important educator of children. Thanks to an extensive network of day care centers and preschool centers (nursery schools already educate some 91 percent of our children) mothers in Czechoslovakia can devote themselves to their careers.

In our country, every child has the guaranteed right to an education, which is aimed at the universal development of the child's personality, its creativity, its abilities and talent. We respect the inevitable requirement for education toward the technical and creative thinking of children more and more.

Our system guarantees the children that they can live in sufficiency, it cares for their health, their universal development, their security. However, it cannot in all cases guarantee them, or us, a permanent deep relationship with their parents, comfort and certainty with respect to the emotional background of the home, the full interest in the development of the child, understanding and comprehension. We are already in eighth place in the world with respect to the number of divorces. We can certainly not boast with this number. Over 70 percent of the marriages, divorced by our courts, have a responsibility for an average of 2 children. This means that while 25 years ago some 13,000 children in this country lived in incomplete families as a result of divorce, last year that number was already 35,000! Virtually one-tenth of all children live only with the mother. The second parent is very much missed by the child, whether anyone wants to admit that or not. Even if some people deceive themselves by saying that the divorce of parents does not harm one or another child, the opposite is generally true. In some manner, the parting of the parents harms every child.



We even know of cases where something is missing in a family which, at first glance, is proper, and socially and otherwise balanced. For the most part it is not until the school years or later that the child from such a family shows negative manifestations, shows that the parents failed to teach it to value manual work, that they did not teach it to respect other life values, that the parents did not have sufficient understanding, emotional attachment, love for the child and failed to even have enough time which was fully and purposefully lived jointly within the family.

It is occasionally the custom to blame this on the high employment of our women, on their being overburdened and, thus, unable to fully master the task of mother as well as worker and--still quite frequently--being the principal work force in the household. This is only half the truth. The rest of it is in the inability of some parents to fully realize that through the birth of a child they lose something of their previous freedom--by exchanging it for the joy and experience of parenthood. One can also not confuse the substance and principles of a certain social change which we have come to call equal rights for women, with difficulties and shortcomings in its realization. In practice this means that our women-mothers, the educators of our children, today have the same rights at home and in the workplace next to their men but are also rightfully expected not to neglect the education of their children. However, the conditions required for the mastery of such a demanding double role do not always reflect this status.

We have some way to go to catch up, primarily with respect to services. Society is striving to see to it that they are universally, locally, and financially available and of high quality. They should make life for mothers and fathers easier rather than more difficult and facilitate the education of the children. We have quite a few things to rectify even with respect to our relationship with employed mothers of minor children in the workplace. We have a ways to go yet even with respect to satisfying the housing needs of young parents with children, with respect to the equipment of housing settlements and with respect to available equipment for apartments in which young couples with children live.

All of these circumstances have a considerable influence on the life balance of both parents, their mutual relationship and, thus, directly influence the education of children. They also influence the subsequent understanding of marriage and parenthood, the ability to establish and maintain a good family. For oneself and for the children.

5911

CSO: 2400/431

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CTK REPORTS SPEECH BY WOMEN'S UNION CHAIRMAN

LD101649 Prague CTK in English 1514 GMT 10 Jun 85

[Text] Bratislava, 10 Jun (CTK)--"The objectives of the UN Decade for Women were an organic part, in the domestic and foreign sphere, of the everyday work of the Czechoslovak Union of Women," the union's chairwoman Marie Kabrhelova said at a plenary session of its Central Committee here today.

During the decade, Czechoslovak women promoted their cooperation with women in other, especially developing countries and progressive women's organizations in capitalist states, Marie Kabrhelova said and added that the union now co-operates with 134 women's organizations in 120 countries.

Czechoslovak women have been trying throughout the decade to strengthen the unity of women in the struggle for peace, national independence, and the right of women to equality and more contented life. They have supported this endeavor with more than 1,500 telegrams and statements, and granted aid to some 50 women's organizations from the union's solidarity fund. Also important was aid to the Havana-based centre of the Women's International Democratic Federation for the education of women personnel from Latin America.

Marie Kabrhelova went on to stress that "the socialist countries are the only community in which the objectives of the UN Decade for Women had been realized long before it had been declared. In the course of the decade, women's equality was deepened, their share in the management of social affairs rose, and care of mothers and families with children was improved."

She recalled that in Czechoslovakia, family allowances went up three times during the decade, the number of places at nursery schools increased by 49.9 percent since 1975, and a give rise came in women's participation in representative bodies, modern industrial branches, and in university studies, technical subjects in particular.

Czechoslovak women were more active in the peace movement. They organized hundreds of rallies, demonstrations and other actions at which thousands of peace resolutions were adopted. Some 700,000 women signed the appeal for (?the right) of nations to peace of the Women's International Democratic Federation.

Marie Kabrhelova stressed in conclusion that Czechoslovak women "will do everything for the UN world conference of women and the July forum of non-governmental organizations in Nairobi to contribute to an even more efficient participation of women in the movement against the militarization of space, for relaxation of international tension, and for the implementation of the noble ideas of the UN Decade for Women.

CSO: 2020/136

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CULTURAL ACTIVITIES OF HUNGARIAN MINORITY

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 21 Feb 85 p 5

[Text] The activity of the Cultural Association of the Hungarian Working People in Czechoslovakia [CSEMADOK], which has approximately 83,000 members, is being motivated this year by the 40th anniversary of the culmination of the national liberation struggle of the Czechoslovak people and the liberation of our country by the Soviet Army. This important anniversary will be reflected in CSEMADOK's educational and artistic activities.

The membership base of the Cultural Association of the Hungarian Working People in Czechoslovakia now represents approximately 15 percent of the overall number of citizens of Hungarian nationality living in Czechoslovakia. Over 25 percent of the membership participate in the artistic activities. CSEMADOK manages over 600 amateur collectives, ensembles and groups, the most successful of which take part in the association's contests. This year, the program of such events will include the 22nd Jokai Days in Komarno with the participation of theatrical amateur circles, the Podunajska Spring Festival in Dunajska Streda, the "The Ringing Song" festival of children and youth choral groups, a contest of folk-songs "Spring Wind Makes Water Waves". The culmination of the cultural-social activities will be the Festival of the Hungarian Working People in Gombasek and a folklore festival in Zelezove.

The educational activity of the association includes numerous seminars, lectures and contests which will emphasize the historical significance of the liberation of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet Army and demonstrate the results of the cultural development of the citizens of Hungarian nationality in our country after the liberation.

1277  
CSO: 2400/366

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

BRIEFS

MEETING WITH PRESIDENT SUHARTO--Jakarta, 27 May (CTK)--President Suharto of Indonesia told visiting Czechoslovak Deputy Premier Rudolf Rohlicek that Indonesia is interested in broader relations with Czechoslovakia, especially mutually advantageous trade and economic cooperation. The deputy premier delivered to the Indonesian president a message from Czechoslovak President Gustav Husak, inviting him to visit Czechoslovakia. The invitation has been accepted, and the date of the visit will be agreed upon through diplomatic channels. [Text] [Prague CTK in English 1510 GMT 27 May 85]

U.S. YOUTHS PREPARE FOR MOSCOW CONFERENCE--New York, 23 May (CTK correspondent)--Some 40 local preparatory committees of the World Festival of Youth and Students are working in the United States. Member of the state-wide preparatory committee Debbie Lopez has said that the local committees devote attention to the main themes of the festival--preservation of peace in the world, disarmament, dangers of Reagan's policy against Nicaragua, and crimes of the South African racist regime. A main task is to raise money for the trip of a 540-strong official delegation of American youth to Moscow. [Text] [Prague CTK in English 1042 GMT 23 May 85]

CSO: 2020/132

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

UNIVERSITY FACULTY SHORTAGE CONCERNS MINISTRY

West Berlin IWE TAGESDIENST in German No 73, 17 May 85 pp 2-3

[Article datelined IWE Berlin 17 May 85: "GDR University Minister Worries About Young Scholars"]

[Text] Hans-Joachim Boehme, minister for university affairs, expressed dissatisfaction with the development and advancement of young scholars in the GDR when speaking at an important professional conference in Dresden. He stated that significant progress had not been made, and that even targeted goals had not been achieved. To some extent the situation had even "worsened" since 1977. In many academic disciplines there are problems in assuring the necessary increase in numbers of young scholars, he asserted, and he said that it would be necessary in the future to train highly qualified top-notch scholars in such a way that they could be appointed to teaching positions significantly earlier in life, during their youth. In this respect, Boehme said he wished "that I might again be able to appoint teachers and professors who are 30 years of age, or even younger." According to the minister, the problem of timely completion of promotion to the doctorate continues. Due to deficient guidance, the reasons for this had not been completely and clearly revealed, discussions about inadequate results had been conducted on too general a level, and appropriate measures had been taken either too late or not at all, Boehme said.

The minister laid the blame for delays in promoting younger faculty on university teachers and on young scholars in equal measure. He said there was still too large a number of university teachers who made inadequate provision, or none at all, for the younger scholars needed in their disciplines. He said he knew some professors and instructors who, following their appointments, which dated back 10 to 15 years in some cases, had not yet directed a single young scholar to the completion of a doctorate. He said a university teacher's failure to meet this obligation must no longer be tolerated. The positive assessment of most young scholars' willingness and ability to perform was also countered by indications "showing laziness and a lack of initiative, independence and a sense of responsibility." Some of them would obviously first have to get used to the idea that there is no 8 hour day for scholarly activity.

According to Boehme, the problem of young scholars is coming into particularly sharp focus because a large number of professorial chairs in the GDR will have

to be filled in the next few years due to retirements. In the years 1991-1995, for example, the universities and technical schools subject to the Ministry for University Affairs will have to fill 1000 professorial chairs and 2000 instructorships falling vacant. That is triple the replacement rate in the current 5 year plan. He said similar demands were also cropping up in other academic institutions. Moreover, the requisite numerical increase in university teachers and academic support personnel would also have to be assured. In the development of younger scholars, the time factor is thus "an increasingly significant quantity, objectively viewed." At present, and in the next few years, it is basically a case of training the second generation of university teachers in the GDR.

CSO: 2300/417

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

BRIEFS

MATHEMATICIAN SHORTAGE REPORTED--The GDR does not have enough mathematicians. As Professor Dr Lothar Budach, chairman of the Academic Advisory Council for Mathematics in the East Berlin Ministry for University and Technical School Affairs, explained to East Berlin's WOCHENPOST, the present number of graduate mathematicians does not meet the demands of industry. It appears from Prof Budach's comments that the universities and technical schools have problems getting enough students in mathematics. Apparently mathematics as a field of study has recently suffered from a bad image. According to Prof Budach, one reason may be that there was a large influx of students into mathematics departments in the 1970's, although there was then a discrepancy in industry's capacity to utilize graduates in positions appropriate to their training. In the intervening period, however, the situation has changed completely. Prof Budach announced that the training curriculum for mathematics students will undergo further changes in the future. To be sure, the GDR is not going to formulate an alternative plan on the lines of "computer science in place of mathematics." He said computer science is not being viewed as a specialty competing with mathematics, but that people in the GDR are striving to achieve a synthesis of the two sciences. The East Berlin scholar challenged the view that the GDR's training of mathematicians was behind in data processing. That was absolutely out of the question, he said, although it was definitely necessary to expand computer bases in the departments as quickly as possible. [Text] [West Berlin IWE TAGESDIENST in German No 74, 18 May 85 p 2]

CSO: 2300/418



HUNGARY

CARDINAL MINDSZENTY'S ARREST, IMPRISONMENT BY ARROW CROSS

Budapest UJ EMBER in Hungarian 24 Feb, 10 Mar 85

[Article by Janos Hetenyi, based on notes of Matyas Geiszbuhl: "The Prisoner of Conscience Speaks (3), (4)"]

[24 Feb 85 p 2]

[Text] Bishop, His Priests in Hands of Arrow Cross

After his dramatic depiction of the fatal Christmas of 1944, one-time prison chaplain Matyas Geiszbuhl continues his reminiscences about the subsequent events in Sopronkohida.

Late at night on 21 December, when I had already retired, Guard Commander Gyula Nemeth knocked on my door. "Imagine, Reverend, they now brought us Bishop Mindszenty with 27 of his priests. They came by bus, escorted by two gendarmes. In the absence of a proper admission order, Prison Governor Straner refused to admit them to the prison proper. They are housed temporarily in the schoolhouse outside the walls. We vacated the second classroom, and provided straw mattresses. Visit them in the morning."

Next morning I hastened to see them. The bishop was already up. He was just emptying the washbasin in the schoolyard. The others were still resting: Chancellor Schwarz, Canon Lipot Langmar, theology professors, priests of the chancery (among them Dr Laszlo Lekai), and seminarians.

I promised to do everything I could for them. But who will provide for them if this temporary situation continues for days? The prison will not do so because they have not been admitted. My sister cooked a pot of soup. My friend Gyula Denes, in charge of provisioning the prison, unofficially issued a few slabs of bacon and bread.

How did they get here? The Arrow Cross has long been angry at the bishop because he opposed the plan to evacuate the city, and the entire Trans-Danubian Region, to Germany. When the Arrow Cross sequestered a part of the bishop's palace, the bishop's secretary said something offensive, and they arrested him. And then when the bishop protested against his secretary's arrest, he too was arrested. When the news spread and the priests in the vicinity hurried there, they were arrested one after the other.

Now they are here. What will happen? In the chapel next to the schoolroom, the priests were saying masses in succession. The seminarians assisted, played the organ, and sang. The news that the bishop of Veszprem and his priests had been brought here soon spread within the prison and also outside the walls, in the settlement and even in Sopron itself. I informed by messenger Monsignor Kalman Papp, pastor of the main parish in Sopron. He came out on foot that same day, in the company of Jeno Balogh, the hospital steward. The next day also the faithful thronged to the chapel to attend the bishop's mass. Most of them brought some food to the sacristy: bread, milk, lard, and even cooked meals. Regarding this as a demonstration, the military tribunal was annoyed, and I was held responsible. Major Dominits, the head of the military tribunal, asked me reproachfully: "Are you people trying to organize a demonstration here?" "This is not a demonstration," I replied, "it is only the Catholic faithful expressing their loyalty and sympathy to their bishop." "Well, I will see to it that they are admitted to the prison after all." And see to it he did. A dirty basket-weaving shop in the prison yard was emptied and furnished with straw mattresses for them. On Sunday, December 24 (you could just hear the noonday church bell over the radio from one of the apartments for prison guards), we escorted them from the settlement's schoolhouse, across the road, to the prison. Three of us were at the head of the column: the bishop in the center; Captain Janosy, a judge advocate, on the bishop's right; and I on the bishop's left. The others followed behind us, escorted by two gendarmes. As we stepped across the prison's threshold, the bishop stopped, turned to Captain Janosy and said: "I protest against such detention!" Along the length of the basket-weaving shop, the straw mattresses were arranged next to the wall. Behind a screen in the corner, there was an iron cot for the bishop. One of our prison guards was making arrangements there. The bishop turned to him and said, "I request that you have the cot removed, and a same kind of straw mattress brought in for me."

Early in the afternoon, in the presence of the prison administration, we held the customary and "official" Christmas Eve celebration for the prisoners. The Veszprem group was not permitted to attend. But the women of the settlement had collected cakes and cookies. Laden with packages and Christmas trees, my friend Andras Trenka, the deputy governor, and I visited also those for whom such an "official Christmas Eve" was not held. We went first of all to the dirty basket-weaving shop in which the bishop of Veszprem and his priests were confined. We placed a Christmas tree and the presents on the rickety table. The seminarians decorated the tree and lit the few candles on it. Christmas carols were sung, after which the bishop led the praying of a decade of the rosary while meditating on the mystery of Christ's birth of the Virgin Mary. Then the bishop delivered a homily, explaining to us the significance of that Christmas. We should thank the Lord, he said, for allowing us that Christmas. None of our previous Christmases had been so similar to Christ's own Christmas. "The Savior was born in a shabby stable, and here too everything is so shabby. His own kind did not want to admit Him. They do not want to admit us either, not even into prison. But He came to bring peace to men of good will."

We were receiving news daily that the Russians were approaching, and there were growing rumors that the Arrow Cross would carry off the prisoners to the West before the oncoming Russians. This is something that the bishop feared very much. How could they get out of there before that happened? It would

have been futile for the Veszprem chapter to intercede for their release. By then the Arrow Cross government had transferred its seat to Sopron. Justice Minister Budinszky was living there in Sopronkohida, in the apartment of the prison's governor. On one occasion I proposed to the bishop that I myself intercede with the justice minister on their behalf. The bishop liked the idea. I asked the prison's governor to request an audience for me with the minister. If I remember correctly, this was on the second day of Christmas. The minister summoned me late in the evening. I explained how impossible and shameful it was to treat in this manner a bishop who, by constitutional law, was also a high dignitary of the land. Everyone in the vicinity was shocked. This could not go on, and it was not in the government's interest either. The minister assured me of his willingness to help and emphasized that this case was very embarrassing for him as well. But he did not dare to make a decision on his own authority. After thinking briefly, he said that the Council of Ministers would be meeting in Sopron the next day, and that he would submit the matter to the Council of Ministers. "I will send for you again tomorrow evening and tell you what has been decided."

[10 Mar 85 p 2]

[Text] 4. From Cell to Convent and Home

For the justice minister, Matyas Geiszbuhl's intercession came just at the right time. In the evening of 26 December 1944, he promised that he would submit to the Council of Ministers the next day the delicate matter of detaining the bishop of Veszprem and his priests.

"The next evening," the prison chaplain's notes continue, "the minister summoned me and announced that all he was able to achieve was that we could place the bishop and his priests under house arrest in Sopron. He instructed me to get in touch with the pastor of the main parish in Sopron and let the pastor designate a suitable place for house arrest in one of the local convents. There was great rejoicing, for we could not have expected anything more. The next day I was able to report to the minister that there was a suitable place in the Sopron motherhouse of the Daughters of the Divine Redeemer. Over the phone in my presence, Kalman Papp, the pastor of the main parish in Sopron, had settled this briefly with Mother Berchmana, the convent's mother superior. A bus, a chauffeur and gendarmes were assigned, and I was instructed to transfer the prisoners on this bus."

Sister Erneszta vividly recalls: "The group of prisoners arrived in a sorry state around 6:00 pm on 28 December 1944. They arrived 'home' disheveled, carrying knapsacks, but with happy faces. We were already waiting for them, with clean beds, a well spread table, and opportunity to wash. After supper, everyone was able to hand in his laundry. The sisters washed and ironed it during the night. A fresh set was ready for everyone the next morning. Since the (present municipal) bathhouse was ours then, bathing was no problem. From morning to evening, everyone had an opportunity to take a bath and to put on clean clothes. The same service was provided for the gendarmes as well.

"The priests had a strict daily schedule. Every priest said mass already the first day. Soon also the newly ordained priests celebrated their first masses, very happily, in the chapel on the second floor." (To Sister Erneszta's knowledge, the bishop and his group had first been imprisoned in Veszprem for three weeks. There the bishop had ordained his seminarians, but up to then they had been unable to celebrate their first masses.)

On weekdays, the priests shared in the domestic chores. They hauled coal for the entire building, and during the frequent air raids they carried the sick soldiers on stretchers to the air-raid shelter, because the convent served also as a military hospital. And since there were theology professors in the group, the young priests began to study and passed their examinations toward the end of March. But before then, still in January, the young priests were ordered out to clear the Vienna highway of snowdrifts during the night. Because they lacked warm clothes and even their shoes were beginning to wear out, their bishop did not let them go alone. He accompanied them. They returned home at dawn, soaked and in leaky shoes.

Once there came word that the Arrow Cross wanted to deport Bishop Jozsef Mindszenty to Dachau. "We kept him hidden for two days so that he would come to no harm," writes Sister Erneszta.

At that time the late Peter Horvath--he subsequently became warden of Saint Margit's Church in Sopron--and some of his friends were planning the threatened bishop's escape. Because the Arrow Cross military police were checking identification papers everywhere, the first prerequisite for a successful escape was a photograph that bore the bishop's likeness, without making him readily recognizable. An approached officer of the gendarmes promised to supply the forged identification papers. The photograph was made. It shows a transformed Bishop Mindszenty, sporting a beret, a necktie and a mustache. However, the front approached Sopron so rapidly that there was no longer any need to fear the bishop's deportation. But the photograph, as a unique historical memento, was placed in the future churchwarden's missal. After his death, his widow gave the photograph to the present writer who is publishing it as an interesting historical document.

But let us go back to the very last days of Arrow Cross rule. In March, the Arrow Cross brought to the convent more prisoners to be kept under house arrest: Bishop Shvoy of Szekesfehervar, his brother the lieutenant general, a young American priest, an official, a merchant, and a young boy. They arrived amidst a heavy air raid, and therefore it probably was on 4 March 1945.

Sister Izabella recalls that when the front reached Sopron on 1 April, Bishop Shvoy's presence proved truly useful. He remained calm and self-assured. The front had passed through Szekesfehervar three times while he had been there. He met the Soviet soldiers wearing his pectoral cross. At their request, he guided them on their inspection of the building, and he even led the moved soldiers into the chapel. No one was harmed. The two bishops and their priests helped to clear away the rubble, and to repair the convent's damaged windows and doors.

Finally, the opportunity to return home arrived! The Russian command wanted to send the two bishops and their groups home on the same train, from the Southern Terminal in Sopron, on 16 April 1945. They reached the terminal by 8:00 am, but (due to the conditions on the railroad at that time) the train actually left only toward evening. Thus the sisters brought them dinner that day as well. The trip to Papa by train took from Monday evening until Thursday. In Papa the two groups separated. Bishop Jozsef Mindszenty and his priests went to the parish house in Papa, and from there they reached Veszprem partially by cart and partially on foot, because the Varoslod viaduct had been blown up. Thus they arrived home on Friday before noon. Bishop Lajos Shvoy and his group enjoyed for two or three more days the pleasures of traveling at that time, before reaching his see.

With this a series of events came to its close within the trials and tribulations of a great world war. In comparison with this "great" war, the events were merely "local" ones, but full of tension and even of final (fatal) decisions. Such times reveal a person's true character. When the Veszprem group repeatedly expressed their gratitude to Matyas Geiszbuhl for what he had done on their behalf, the prison chaplain wrote the following at the end of his memoirs: "All I could reply was that I had done my duty. Providence be praised that I had the opportunity to do so." What an appropriate ending from the "prisoner of conscience"! Probably this is always the question in our lives: When there was an opportunity to do so, did we do our duty?

1014

CSO: 2500/392

HUNGARY

POPIELUSZKO'S MURDERERS, HUNGARIAN SUPPORTERS CONDEMNED

Budapest UJ TUKOR in Hungarian 5 May 85 pp 5,16

[Article by Sandor Fekete, Assistant Editor-in-Chief, Writers' Union Official:  
"Pietruszka's Commandos"]

[Text] There is no reason for us to regard a court of law as infallible merely because its members have sworn an oath to God, the Constitution or anything else. It is known from experience that not only is it possible to stage proceedings held in camera but spectacular judicial dramas can also be arranged for the public if one authority is powerful enough to make the judges his servants and if the judges are sufficiently compliant or stupid to play this role. Nevertheless, I now have reason to view the verdict of the Polish Supreme Court as a decision to be taken seriously: according to foreign observers, a lawful procedure took place at both the Torun trial and the appeal hearing, and the accused were able to defend themselves fiercely and tenaciously. The definitive conviction for the murder of a priest thus brought the case to a persuasive end and thereby made it fully appreciable.

But is it proper for a Hungarian to meddle in a Polish affair? And by what right are we scandalized by a single corpse when terror prevails on the earth day after day, when the Indian prime minister is gunned down in her garden by her own bodyguards and afterwards people beat each other to death by the hundreds, when thousands die an excruciating death in the vicinity of an irresponsibly managed chemical plant and innocent persons are blasted into scraps of flesh from the murderous attacks launched daily by terrorists, when more people will probably perish in civil wars and wars for religious reasons in the course of the 20th century than in the epoch of classical wars of religion--what can one more corpse weigh on this horrifying scale? It might even be possible to dismiss the case with a certain cynicism: if this priest--as it follows from the teachings of his faith--is resting at this moment at Christ's side in heaven, no fate more beautiful than that is conceivable for earthly man, and so there is no reason for anyone to feel sorry for him. If, on the other hand, he sacrificed his life for an illusion because there is no celestial reward, then he himself is the cause of his tragedy.

However, I am hardly in the mood now for this kind of cynical argumentation, and that is why I consider justified the "international attention" in connection with a solitary crime, because for me this one death is not like the others.



The slaying of Popieluszek serves as an historical warning: Look, those forces which once caused irreparable damage to the concept and practice of socialism still exist, and indeed they lurk in positions of power, ready for deliberate acts of treachery...

This time, fortunately, their plan did not succeed. If it is true, as the French say, that "to govern is to foresee," then we can report that those who planned and committed the murder are persons unfit to govern: they performed their act--worked out on an unimaginative intellectual level--with a primitiveness equal to the plan and achieved a result ignominiously contradictory to what was intended. To begin with, they plainly wanted to intimidate Solidarity's rear guard by kidnapping and murdering the priest, but now it can be claimed that they are the very ones who did the most for this withdrawn organization's sudden spurt. While Walesa and his followers never managed to get more than 5,000 persons onto the streets between 13 December 1981 and the autumn of 1984, the killers of Popieluszek saw to it that hundreds of thousands demonstrated at the priest's funeral. The men of Solidarnosc and KOR could not have come up with a better idea for revival...

Precisely the priest's martyrization and the foreseeability of this aftereffect may have misled those who--like the Warsaw correspondent for NEPSZABADSAG--during the first days took it for granted that on the basis of the principle of cui prodest (whom does it benefit?) the culprits must be sought in Polish opposition circles. They merely forgot the trifling fact that a negative opposition also operates in Poland: amok-running "leftwingers" try to force a terrorist policy on General Jaruzelski or, if this does not succeed, to overthrow him. Well, this plan of the amok-runners also failed. The general's undisguised method was to give his critics and opponents an admonitory lesson, and through the authentically public character of the trial this lesson assumed international importance.

The criminals referred to the fact that the authorities had not acted forcefully with respect to Popieluszek, and they therefore took upon themselves the reprisal neglected by others "in order to physically drive the priest into a corner." According to Captain Piotrowski, he and his men would not have ended up in the prisoner's dock if the law had been the law in the case of the instigative priest as well. There is a certain logic in the argument, and we can even add to it that Popieluszek would be alive today if the authorities had not discontinued the proceedings instituted against him for illegal machinations or if, as required by the national interest, the Church itself had urged discipline. Yet the logic is essentially false, because neither the authorities' permissiveness resulting from political considerations nor the Church's laxity (complicity?) gives a group of policemen the right to turn themselves into a court of law and indeed a party vis-a-vis the Party.

It is true that in the history of socialism there was someone who tried in theory to support the "instruments of physical force, this justifiably appropriate method," against the enemies of socialism. As is well-known (or, if insufficiently, let it be better-known), Stalin argued that the "demented agents" of the bourgeoisie made use of the "instruments of physical influence in the most revolting form" against the representatives of the proletariat.

"Why should" a deterrent service of the socialist state "be more humane"? Luckily for socialism, however, this theory was condemned by a fairly responsible forum, the 20th Congress of the CPSU.

Let us consider where this theory would lead if socialism responded with deeds similar to the barbarous acts of the bourgeoisie's "demented agents." Through this logic, it would have been possible to erect death camps with gas chambers, because the lunatics of the bourgeoisie invented them, too.

No, the crackbrains of the bourgeoisie must retain the privilege of having their name linked to vile and loathsome acts against humanity. Horthy's commandos murdered Somogyi and Bacso and threw them into the Danube: this is a deed worthy of the spirit of the white terror, like the depravity of Hitler's forerunners who likewise killed and tossed into the water--although a woman!--Rosa Luxemburg. When Piotrowski and his underlings--obviously not considering the parallel--acted similarly by throwing Popieluszko into the reservoir, they made themselves the kin of the century's most abominable counterrevolutionaries, restoring to life a criminal ideology (thought to be entombed) which compromises socialism.

And they could not defend themselves by saying they did not know what they were doing. Even an ignorant person must be aware that the 20th Congress passed sentence on illegal acts, but the murderers--on top of everything else--were educated men. One of them, as a matter of fact, studied to be a "political scientist," and Piotrowski speaks several languages. Conscious of their separate-entrance communism, they superciliously dismissed what was taught by the concept they outwardly accepted, a concept which rejects what is branded--even by the Stalin party history--"individual terror" and which underscores the ideological nature of the struggle against the Church reaction. Colonel Pietruszka no doubt has an inkling that Marx, who was more or less an atheist, wrote this in "Critique of the Gotha Program": "Everyone should be able to satisfy his religious needs, as well as his physical ones, without interference by the police." The colonel must have also been informed that Engels, who likewise was pretty much an atheist, ridiculed Mr Duhring because the latter, in his own Prussian socialist state, would have sicced his policemen on religion, "thereby helping the myth to achieve martyrdom and a prolonged life span." When Pietruszka's men acted in an unlawful way against the illicit schemes of Popieluszko and his followers, they guaranteed the Church the very martyrdom necessary for it to be able to prolong the life span of its political power. And Mieczyslaw Rakowski stated, here at the university law school in Budapest, that due to the deed of the "Piotrowski death brigade" the "future generations of Polish communists" will be liable to the "charge of murdering believers" and that these killers "launched a murderous attack on our socialist principles into the bargain." (EGYETEMI LAPOK, 9 April 1985.)

Popieluszko's devotees and the Western press's experts on the East, always ready for hypocrisy, objected to the fact that the victim also came in for some criticism during the trial. This objection is ridiculous, of course. The illegality of the reprisal does not make what the victim did justifiable, lawful or uncriticizable in retrospect. A victim who, for that matter, denied the teachings of Christ in roughly the same manner that Pietruszka and his brigade dismissed Marx. And yet the priest must have had an inkling that nowhere does the Gospel preach



against communism and in favor of capitalism. On the contrary, it repeatedly stands on the side of the poor and against the rich, who enter into the kingdom of heaven with greater difficulty than a camel can pass through the "eye of a needle." Nowhere does the Gospel proclaim that priests should conceal weapons, hand out leaflets and incite against the state. On the contrary, it teaches: "Render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and to God the things that are God's." Nowhere does the Gospel order that the house of God be made into a center of fomentation out of which the streaming multitude blares slogans of hate instead of practicing the commandment of love. (See chapter 13 of "The Apostle," where Petofi properly depicts the priest who incites those in the church to expel the "atheist," upon which the crowd, like a furious savage, attacks Sylvester...)

When Popieluszkos turned the church into an anticommunist party house, he not only broke the law but he also offended his own God. As the Hungarian saying goes, you must not make a buffoon out of Christ. Nor can the heavenly Father--if He exists--be nominated as one of the party chiefs: he can view the earthly skirmish only as an onlooker or, at best, a celestial judge, not as a combatant, because that would run counter to the concept of divinity. Just as a referee cannot take the side of one team against the other one, we call Him neither an outside right nor a defenseman.

In our country, fortunately, there are no Popieluszkos in the pulpits or the reservoirs. The age of Mindszenty is long past. This is plainly linked to the fact that the Hungarian Pietruszkas--every last one, let us hope--have been eliminated from the machinery of state. Thus no overzealous battle takes place between pseudocommunists and pseudo-Catholics in our homeland. What happens at most is what transpired a few months ago: a handful of intellectuals demonstrated their solidarity with the struggle of Father Popieluszkos. Because of my profession, it is somewhat depressing that there were three writers among them, as well as three or four additional members of the Writers' Union. It is reassuring, however, that altogether they make up only about 1--i.e., One--percent of the union's membership.

This system easily tolerates so many Popieluszkos sympathizers, which is also shown by the fact that this time, luckily, the state did not let itself be provoked. This upsets one or another of the combatants, because they would gladly adorn themselves with a little cheap martyr's glory. They sometimes criticize each other captiously in publications which are contradictory and which speak in an argumentative manner and in the 1950s' style of the defunct SZABAD NEP, for which reason they have willy-nilly worked their way into the "establishment," and thus some of them can already enjoy the advantages of double publication. They annually spend more time in the West than an average Hungarian does in his entire lifetime, owing to which the simple oppositionists still not adorned with rank and privileges now and then detect the smell of something fishy. Well, let them just argue among themselves: a good debate sharpens the mind and can improve the style. There is room for them.

Meanwhile, the rest of us--who do not yearn to further democratize socialism under the banner of Father Jerzy--work to see to it that our country does not once again turn into a testing ground for the fanatical struggle between the Hungarian Popieluszkos and Pietruszkas.

POLAND

NEW KATOWICE PROVINCE GOVERNOR

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 18-19 May 85 p 2

[Text] (PAP) The chairman of the Council of Ministers relieved Div Gen (pilot) Roman Paszkowski from the position of governor of Katowice Province due to his resignation in order that he might accept an offer of another position in the social sector. In the name of the government of the Polish People's Republic as well as his own, the chairman of the Council of Ministers expressed his deep gratitude and sincere thanks to General Paszkowski for a job well-done.

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After obtaining a favorable opinion from the Provincial People's Council in Katowice, the chairman of the Council of Ministers appointed Tadeusz Wnuk to be governor of Katowice Province.

Tadeusz Wnuk was born in 1945 in Sosnowiec in a workers' family. He completed his higher education at the Higher School of Economics in Katowice, obtaining a master's degree in economics.

He has worked for 22 years in Silesia, 14 of which were spent in state administration. During 1971-1973 he served as chairman of the Local Planning Commission in Sosnowiec. After that he was first deputy mayor and then mayor of the city of Sosnowiec. Since 1979 he has been vice governor of Katowice Province. He is a PZPR member.

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POLAND

'POLITYKA' POLL PLUMBS DEPTHS OF SOCIAL ANOMIE

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 17, 27 Apr 85 pp I-XIII

[Article by Witold Pawlowski]

[Text] POLITYKA has asked its readers to describe a day at their workplace, a day they could pick at random, say January 23 or February 13, along with more general remarks about their work. How do the eight (or more) hours of work pass for them? Are they happy with what they do? Do they feel they are needed? What impedes them in their work? Do they, at grass-roots level, feel the spirit of the reform? More than 400 letters were sent to the editors. [...]. It is now time to sum up the poll.

Working Poland gets up to the sound of the alarm clock. This is how most reports begin--with the sound of the alarm. With age and length of service, people learn to open their eyes even before the alarm goes off. This becomes an ingrained habit so that later, in retirement, people find it difficult to forget about it.

For half the year, working Poland wakes up when it is still dark and with a frustrating feeling that there is something wrong about this. Even those who could still afford some more sleep get up by the light of the bedside lamp. Why does everybody have to start before eight? They could have the chance of avoiding the rush hour, to wake up properly before, not during, work, and to go to it with more vigor.

For between a half and a whole hour after the sound of the alarm, they do things they have practised to the point of automation, e.g. sandwiches packed in foil and kept in the fridge enable them having to do no more than heat the water for their morning tea.

Not everybody slept well that night, but in Cracow, for instance, some people got even less time for sleep. "Janina," headmistress at an elementary school ("I hardly ever think about school as my workplace, it's simply my life"), finished her washing at five past three in the morning, because in the city district, Krowodrza they only have water during the night, Tuesdays and Fridays. "Engineer 46," who has a job as municipal building inspector, was woken by the sound of dripping water onto his window sill, a thaw after a month of heavy frost. This means leaking roofs. He recalls the continuous

struggle to cope with leaks during the winter. Indeed, it was hell. Somebody signed "A.B.C." woke up to a nightmare about his party executive council castigating him for not joining the unions.

One habit of very recent vintage seems worth pointing out, namely buying meat before working hours. "Woman Surveyor" gets up at half past four once a week. When she joins the queue she is sixth or seventh in line ("Only the first ten get what they queue up for, the rest gets only frankfurters"). She is one hour late for work once a week, yet in this way she gets the problem off her mind.

Then, the Polish employee faces the first great obstacle, namely arriving at the workplace.

Very many people have a long way to go before they reach their workplaces.

"City Bus Driver," aged 34, whose education extends beyond secondary level (on that day he drove 140 km behind the wheel of his bus, 250 stops, 70 liters of fuel, "I drove some one thousand people, earning one thousand zloty") has a lot of time to think, which brings him to the following reflection, "When something is too cheap, people don't appreciate it. For example, if, by riding a bicycle to school or workplace, you could save within three months as much as the bicycle costs, then that would be something. When fares are expensive, people have to look for flats close to their workplaces--this is a utopia in Poland--or else to find work near to where they live."

And, he adds, "All deformation of economic calculation (rigid prices, rationing, subsidies, allocation of goods according to regions, allocation of materials) is harmful in a double sense. It enables enterprises to treat their activity in an infantile manner saying, for example, 'our costs are rising, so either you prop us up with subsidies or we go bankrupt' or 'we cannot possibly manage because we are short of raw materials, manpower, gaskets'. It also deforms the possibility of a deliberate choice on part of the individual. When everybody earns what his work is worth, people will look for the best paid job close to the bounds of their physical or intellectual potential. When everybody earns roughly the same amount of money, everybody wants an easy, nice and unexacting kind of job."

But first you have to reach your workplace. On each of those two winter days this was a particularly difficult task, occasionally even a heroic one. Those, who use the services of the public railways and road transport companies PKP and PKS, hardly ever worried, because these carriers supplied certificates confirming delays which could be produced at personnel departments. But city transport companies gave no such certificates.

Many participants in the poll are taken to their workplaces by company transport facilities, which are the most reliable though most expensive means of transportation of all. This kind of transportation was to be reduced in connection with the reform and savings, but eventually little came of these plans. Some travel up to 70 kilometers to and back every day. Inside such

buses people doze, play cards, smoke, discuss different things. Behind the windows, a new day is dawning.

"Social Worker from a Public Address Service" listens from far away whether the coalmine is greeting the incoming busloads of workers with music from loudspeakers. If so, he sighs with relief, because this means nobody was killed during the night shift and no mourning has been ordered.

The first thing to be done in the morning in a Polish enterprise is to count those who managed to arrive on time, how many people will work on that day, and how many notices reading "For Want of Personnel..." will have to be put up. "In the morning, there is the routine of counting how many teachers failed to turn up, most of them women because 90 percent of our staff are female. We recommend to our teachers to have classes as usual with groups whose teachers didn't show up, but is such a thing really feasible? Can a teacher of physical education teach children physics in the 7th form?"

Let us look at the time sheet.

Polish enterprises, as the answers to the poll implied, belong to one of two opposite groups--those which are short of manpower and those which have too many people on their payrolls. As a rule, the former are in the more relevant lines of activity and in production and services, while the latter do administrative or clerical work. Similar differences also hold for individual factories, departments, and sections. Some are suffering from a shortage of manpower, which is becoming worse as employees are fleeing (such work for this ridiculous pay?), while the latter are flourishing as never before.

Formerly it was inconceivable that a railway switch yard should be operated with so few workers, says "Frustrated Dispatcher," who is accustomed to having 18 people but now has between five and seven people. "Marzena from a Self-Service Shop" and the shop itself work from six a.m. to two p.m. This is because there are no shop assistants nor anyone foolish enough to take such a job. The list of those who are short of manpower is long--industries, the health service, the distribution system, the services. Design and research institutes, municipal service companies are growing increasingly desolate. But the administration is growing, although promises were made that it would be submitted to a slimming-down. Says "Provincial Don Quixote," "Our poviat was cut up [in the 1975 administrative reform] into four gminas, and the former voivodship was split into three new ones. You can count for yourself how many more voivods, administrators, mayors, secretaries, clerical employees there are now. When they introduced the new administrative division they swore not a single extra desk or signboard would appear; strong centers would remain in the old well-established cities and only small branches would be established in the new voivodship cities. This is not at all what happened. Look what fruit is being born out of the new voivodships' ambitions--more desks are being set up."

Somebody signing his letter "Maksymilian," aged 48, secondary education, "works in a voivodship institution which absolutely nobody needs, and plays a

private guessing game every day about which of the ladies he works with is not going to show up. Will it be Jola, who will take a day off to take care of her two small children? Will Monika, who is pregnant, feel worse? Will Stenia get involved in some trade union activity? Will Halinka think up something new to not appear? There are five of us in a room, four desks, and the work, we do, could be done by one plus a temp."

The once planned great shift of manpower to the most necessary, yet vacant jobs, toward efficient and productive jobs, away from offices and into factory halls, away from desks and toward the services--none of this has come about. This, at least, is what those answering the poll seem to feel.

The only massive manpower operation which proved a success was the early retirement move. Actually, it only deepened the mess and the disproportions. Those who were needed most of all and those with the greatest experience availed themselves of the early-retirement scheme. Their successors are difficult to find.

The early retirees--a few of them did supply answers--are by and large happy with their new status. Especially so if they can make some extra money on odd jobs. Only rarely do they go back, despite all those inducements. Why should they again return to that treadmill, to that envy? No, thank you, they prefer to eat their bread with margarine or with nothing at all.

It is remarkable that none of those who took part in the poll actually fears losing his or her job, that somebody--the boss, the management, the self-management council, the colleagues--may some day say, that's enough, stop now. What they fear is that bad human relations or low pay may force him or her to quit (although, apart from a sizeable group of habitual job seekers, the others rarely and reluctantly change jobs). They never fear that they may have to quit as a result of an economic calculation by their factories.

It has perhaps become something of a platitude to say that none of the letter writers ever has or had trouble finding a job. Nor has anyone been unsuccessful in looking for a job (a good job is another matter; and a very different matter is a job which gives one a sense of satisfaction). Some of them want a small level of unemployment as the treatment for making the Polish attitude toward work a healthy one.

The place and kind of work tend to generate different customs as well as different patterns for spending one's day.

Two different worlds can well be seen in the poll, namely that of production and of offices. (We use these two categories liberally, comprising in the term office, banks, design offices, committees, schools).

For the world of production, a working day starts with the question, what kind of work is there to be done? And, are the necessary materials and tools available?

The world of offices starts with making tea (some also mention airing the room and watering the plants).

In the world of production, everyday surprises include, according to the respondents, burst pipes, power cuts, limited gas deliveries.

In offices, cafeterias have become a source of emotion as well as centers for social life, for, apart from the usual items for sale there, such as hard cheese or liverwurst, soft cheese, horsemeat sausages, or mutton, you may get butter or chocolate without ration cards, or even Mazowsze pastry or Szczecin goulash.

In production, you are tied up whether you want it or not; in an office, you can always leave for a moment, you can be late or leave earlier. For example, you can take a brief holiday with your skis, as one respondent picturesquely described it.

On top of this, in an office people can celebrate colleagues' namedays, and if it happens to be a month with several popular names, there is no end to the flowers, coffee drinking, and surrogate chocolate eating.

Let us now compare these two worlds with each other.

"Kladnicki" describes his working day thus: "I always leave the workers' dormitory at 6:15 a.m. to wait for the factory bus. Most of my colleagues are on leave, for who would willingly work during this severe winter? At 7 a.m. there are already several colleagues inside the foreman's hut. In the morning people always discuss various things. Politics, major events. Today somebody wonders if Mr Jaruzelski will ride an elephant during his visit to India. It is 8 a.m. The foreman has given me no job, so I'll tidy up the place. I load a barrow of sand and begin to spray the sand. The salt is frozen to stone, even a pickaxe doesn't break it up. It is 10 a.m. before you could say Jack Robinson. Where I tidied and swept yesterday, I have to do it again today. In lavatories, plumbers broke down a wall and electricians drilled holes to fix sockets and switches. It is roughly 11 a.m., time for lunch. To have it, I walk back to the premises. In winter they serve soups. A woman serves more than my ration for me, so I don't have to take sandwiches with me from home. But today they didn't manage to drive up with the soup. There is quite a nice snackbar close by. I go to have a plateful of bigos, for I'm not a fool toiling on an empty stomach. There are a couple of friends in the snackbar, drinking beer. I, too, order one for my bigos. The dish is delicious, so I order yet another helping. I pay Zl 200, one-third of my pay for that day. Some colleagues are still inside the foreman's hut. Among them is our manager. They are drinking tea, discussing work norms. Somebody mentions the names of [Stakhanovites] Pstrowski and Krajewski. Somebody says their record achievements were frauds, and one carpenter says that in return for Pstrowski's exertions people are now defacing his monument.

"I start work again at 12:15. I tidy up the rooms on the first floor, but on the ground floor the place is in such a mess that I don't know where to begin.



It's close to 1:30 p.m. The foreman arrives with the carpenters telling me to help them carry doors to all rooms. This even proves profitable for me because in one room I find 20 returnable beer and lemonade bottles. After work I'll take them to a shop. Soon after 2 p.m. it is all over. There's still just under one hour to go but nobody works till 3, and at roughly half past two people begin to come down for knocking-off time."

But "Karina," writing in a hand which is immediately seen not to be accustomed to a ballpoint pen, says, "For one year not I have been working as a secretary at an educational center. I earn Zl 8,000 [monthly]. My job seems meaningless to me. It's monotonous, boiling down to just two things--putting pupils' cards in the files and doing a lot of typing. I'm trying to cut down on typing because, after the accident I had, I've a pain in my back when I write for any length of time. As a clerical employee I must work for eight hours, but I don't have that much work to do. If I hurry up I can do it in two or three hours. This is tiring for me because I can't easily pretend to be working. Many people in offices have work for three or four hours and then they just sit idly. Can't this problem be resolved by shortening the working hours?"

"Pessimistic Grazyna" adds, "I arrived at my workplace at 6:15 a.m. Two girls working with me in my room (altogether there are six of us) were there already. Till 7 we talk to each other about the previous day. At 7:10 another girl turned up, at 7:50 a man and another girl. We talked till 8:30 when we had tea and coffee. We worked till 10, then we had lunch, and resumed work at 11 (bookkeeping). At 2 p.m. two girls left to go home, another left at 3, and the two of us stayed till 4:40, talking. Two workers in this office are entirely superfluous, so I have been trying to persuade two of my co-workers to move to another section while increasing the salaries of the remaining four. This was out of the question, causing a rebellion. 'Don't worry, they're going to go on paying all of us.' Indeed, they are paying more and more at my Housing Cooperative. That is where I have my job."

Where is that hard-working Poland, "the Poland which is painstakingly extricating itself from its economic collapse? Where are those people who are happy to work, who worked with dedication to lay the foundations for this Poland?" wonders rhetorically "Bookbinder" aged 32, who earns Zl 12,000-13,000 per month.

As for satisfaction versus dissatisfaction with one's job, roughly one in five is satisfied. These proportions don't coincide with the previous classification into hard-working and idle people. Some find satisfaction and a sense of being useful in a busy bustle, in a day bringing them a lot of work and requiring discipline and dedication. "To be honest, I'm just a cog in the wheel, but not a small one. I leave my workplace with a clean conscience every day, though on weak knees." This group of employees includes mostly those with a long record of service, people about whom managers say, "What should we do without you?" As for the rest of the hard-working people, two attitudes can be distinguished. Some people do give all they can of themselves, but they are annoyed and without satisfaction because of the quality



of work of others, because of the mess in their factory and, more generally, in Poland, and also, recalling their work in the 1950's, because of the lack of enthusiasm about work as such. They also deplore the too liberal treatment by managers of employees, especially where there is a shortage of employees, when managers turn a blind eye to unjustified absences or even to drinking. In those beautiful days, when everybody respected work, nobody would have tolerated anything like that. Culprits would have been thrown out.

"B.K." says, "As I see indifference, waste, arrogance and burgeoning red tape all around me (4,200 new regulations were issued last year alone), I'm trying to prove at my own workplace that even in such a w....house something sensible can be done."

Others realize their toil makes no sense, above all it is ineffective. Because of bad organization of work and of material supplies, they have to patch up the holes at the expense of extra effort.

Loafers, if they may be called so, belong to one of two categories, as the poll has shown. Some of them suffer something like frustration that they spend days doing nothing. The others tend to put the blame for their idleness on the management--of their department, their factory, of the whole country, charging them with incompetence and inability to organize work and take care of things. If they are so incompetent...

"Naturalist" sums up the prevailing mood, "I'm trying not to idle my time away, thus partly vindicating myself in my own eyes. But am I vindicating myself in other people's eyes? Certainly not. In the long run they could say, 'That's a lucky fellow,' 'A man with no dignity,' or possibly, 'A sacred cow--a party member, of course.' I really feel jobless, although nobody is kicking me out yet. The institution where I have my job has failed to give me a problem to work on and nobody knows if they can give me one this year at all. I can't quietly put up with the idea that I'm living at the cost of others. I'm experiencing this shocking feeling for a first time, and now I understand those who go out into the streets to demand jobs. I am sure such an experience would be a good thing for many Poles. They would stop talking mindlessly about their 'unemployment benefits being higher than our earnings.' 'Why don't you do something about it, why don't you start looking for somebody to give you orders to carry out some work?' is what I and my colleagues hear in the way of advice. I feel I'm worse than others. Should I take all the 'blame' on myself, on the kind of job I have learnt?"

There is one more division. Young employees who are just beginning their careers definitely include fewer people happy with their jobs than the groups of people with longer service. This is by no means surprising. The labor market during the crisis has little to offer, and so does the employer who enlists them on the payroll. This is true of industrial establishments, educational institutions, and especially offices. On top of this, promotion and wage increases are granted according to length of service rather than on the amount of energy spent at work. One respondent describes his start as an incessant fight between the idealist and the cynic in him--the idealist who

still sees sense in wanting something and the cynic who has to adapt himself to become quieter and less independent.

But "Young Bank Employee" draws a surprising conclusion, "No, I'm not satisfied. In a workplace in which ability counts for nothing, a place dominated by a Kafkaesque atmosphere of impotence, by bad organization and legislative chaos, nobody can feel well. As for me, after several years I have become much like others, an ordinary faceless bureaucrat... When I meet my peers, all of them college graduates, we talk a lot, and we draw two conclusions. First, practically everywhere the situation is the same, and all of us face the same problems when starting our first steady jobs. Second, we are almost 100 percent in agreement that some new firm decisions to improve the quality and effectiveness of work are really necessary. All this perhaps sounds childish, for similar hopes and doubts are known to every new generation. But I do believe that every quantitative change is bound to produce eventually the new qualitative leap which we so badly need. New generations of educated young people will eventually bring about the necessary change."

"Enfant Terrible" is more sceptical, "The young are less and less spontaneous, less and less rebellious toward adults, the young are less and less contrary and more and more slickly, and hence falsely, polite. They more and more often resign themselves, shut themselves in their homes with their tape-recorders and TV sets, to a quiet life with a loved one. They also increasingly often demonstrate their religiousness--not an emotional, intellectually tinted kind of religiousness but a downright irrational one. The crucifix which has been on the wall (below the national emblem) in my classroom is something like a symbol of this."

This alarming lack of even elementary satisfaction with one's job, with the effects of one's work, or with the atmosphere, are diverse and extensive, according to the respondents.

Let us start with the most general ones, with what in most letters is deplored as the unencouraging general context of these eight hours of work, that is, the Poland in crisis. Despite the better stocked shelves and the better movies now shown on television, life is certainly no easier than in those months [of 1981] when it was extremely difficult to get hold of even basic necessities.

This Poland is full of hardships, they say. "What was normal, obvious, buyable, only a short time ago, has suddenly become a problem. Everywhere you hear they don't have what you need, somebody failed to provide them with it, and nothing can be done. You will hear this in the post office, in the laundry, in the shop. I wonder what else is going to take me by surprise. I think nothing new can surprise me any more, and then a new surprise comes along."

On top of this, there were the winter hardships--leaking pipes, unheated flats, coke heaters put up inside factory halls, troubles with water, gas, transports, supplies of staple goods.

"At my workplace I think about my home, I see myself standing in queues, I can imagine my husband's reaction when he comes home and looks into the pots."

This syndrome of everyday experiences, according to the respondents, leads to the quite universal sense of hopelessness--meaning that in this way, and at this rate, Poland will find it pretty hard to extricate itself from its crisis for a long time to come.

Somebody signing his letter "Wicz" remarks, "The prevalent mood is one of impotence in the face of our shortages, a time of despair which doesn't seem to be ending. Just when will things really turn for the better? I mean, in our own deep belief, and not because the media or statistics are saying so. Even our closest neighbors, the Czechs, the Hungarians, live normal lives, what's the difference between them and us? Meanwhile the world is racing ahead, leaving us behind."

"R.A. Katowice" sums up, "I can't say I feel hampered by any bans imposed by the authorities, or that I'm being goaded at my factory to do such or other things, the way things used to be in the past--go to the conference, join the meeting, take part in the demonstration, declare your support, voice your protest. No such thing exists now. Nor do party secretaries call you to account as they used to in the past. Meetings and conferences are now rarer than they used to be, and so are reports needing to be drawn up. In fact, one thing or two have changed for the better. But others have changed for the worse. Actually, just one thing has changed for the worse--people aren't voluntarily committing themselves to occupational or other tasks, which seems to derive from a belief that whatever one does, it's futile anyway because no effects will follow. Nothing is needed more badly than the inspiration for--how to get the masses to commit themselves strongly to work for the country's benefit."

Defensive reactions, a desire to adapt yourself, to reconcile yourself to the abnormal situation--don't help people holding jobs in the public sector. They are forced to dissipate their energies running after extra jobs, earning extra money in order not to sacrifice their standard of living and to face the soaring prices. People turn themselves toward their private lives, life at home, which is to give them satisfaction after the hardships of everyday life. It is to be an oasis of normalcy and peace (you do quickly what you have to do and off you go home). People turn to their other lives, their gardens, hobbies, doing something to their cars--all this to get as far away from "official" life as is possible, from the same life which for many years used to be the proper life, the life which used to make sense.

Also, people turn towards alcohol. The hourly rate for overtime work is Zl 800, the same as the bottle of vodka you can buy illegally.

"Enfant Terrible" confesses, "I do less than I could do. I see no reason why I should exert myself, physically or intellectually, more than I do. Against the majority's view today, according to which only those at the top are to blame, I take a contrary attitude. I will gladly forgo a slightly better life

if I have to pay for it with substantially greater effort. I value my reputation as a cynical and ignorant person, and I don't want to get lost in puny arrangements or more substantial frauds (small frauds are part of my life, for otherwise I would be recognized as an idiot). I prefer a trouble-free life to chasing after every penny. I can do without a car."

However, said the respondents, against appearance and despite the appallingly low productivity, there is a deep desire for solid and fruitful work. This attitude, they say, is now outweighing the attitude which was quite common during martial law, which boiled down to the view that "the worse things are becoming, the better is the general situation." For, one more common feeling in the nation is a sense of humiliation by the kind of life Poles have today--we, the great and heroic nation, have come down to the level of beggars!--in particular considering the fact that only ten years ago the public's general feeling was entirely different.

Poles miss those bright years.

But, how can we take off?

The catalogue of specific complaints makes up a long list.

\* Life here is a never-ending string of troubles. Says "Director from Silesia," "Inside my factory, the temperature in the morning is between -5 and 2 degrees C, and there is constant trouble with the hydraulic transmission. It is not merely a case of ordinary breakdowns but a more permanent situation of threats to normal production due to insufficient amounts of heat, energy, gas, fuels and materials. It is these shortages, apart from ordinary negligence, unreliability and defective work, that cause the losses which subsequently have to be made good by extra effort, including overtime work and work on free Saturdays. We are even now more confident in God's Providence than in systematic action, careful balances of resources and demands, consideration of realities such as Poland's normal climatic conditions. Twenty degrees below zero on the Centigrade scale is perhaps a natural calamity for Greece or Italy but shouldn't paralyze the entire economy on our geographic altitude."

\* Actions are designed without any broader perspective. This is what a majority of managers feel, above all enterprise directors; when working we look no further than to the next quarter, or, at best, to the end of the year. Says "Chief Designer," a college graduate with postgraduate training. "My enterprise is subordinated to the unwritten call 'Survive At All Costs'. Many others could easily put out similar slogans. Stopgap measures, focusing attention on immediate rather than long-term goals, attempts to dodge requirements of technology, starting producing the first goods that come to the engineer's mind only to keep machines from being idle, looking frantically for some way of appeasing the credit-granting bank; the research potential is being dissipated or used for current design services; fewer and fewer new studies or products and processes are being introduced; machines and products keep ageing." Another enterprise director compares himself to a boxer who

catches his adversary's punches onto his glove or dodges. He does no conceptual thinking at all. Such a slogan, too, could be fixed above many other directors' desks.

\* False pretences, play-it-safe philosophy, uncritical reference to regulations. One respondent said that the Chief Local Government Inspectorate boss, General Drzazga, was right saying that everybody in the Lublin voivodship worked hard for a period of two weeks. Work discipline, diligence and order improved around audit-time. Should it really be fear which should make people work better? What does "better" mean, anyway? Does it mean everything? Does it mean we are going to draw up more plans, timetables, sets of rules, etc? A well-written sheet of paper cannot be evidence of good work. What has been scrupulously written down doesn't always bear fruit.

One enterprise director divulges his tactics, saying there is a mess, but a mess under control, in his factory. A well-managed enterprise may expose itself to consequences in different ways, but a factory which is in a mess draws up a blueprint for recovery, plays on auditors' feelings praising them for their acuity in taking note of deficiencies, and thereby manages until the next audit.

"B.K." adds, "I see it almost everywhere--from worker to director--people act warily and with excessive circumspection. To play it safe, everybody prefers to turn down or reject suggestions and decline responsibility. This is what makes progress in Poland so slow, burdened as it is by heaps of paperwork. But without risk, without initiative, there will be no development."

The afore-quoted "Young Bank Employee" adds, "An enormous amount of fresh regulations constantly keeps flowing in from the Food Bank's board from other ministries, from voivodship authorities. By now they have become something like a jungle in which nobody can find his way any more. Regulations are being changed at a frantic rate. As a rule, these changes boil down to stopgap adjustments made in order to catch up with economic events. Regulations are designed to regiment everything, including the tiniest trifle, due to which they become self-contradictory. Their enormous number--for by now it is justified to speak of an inflation of regulations--is inversely proportional to their effectiveness or the period of their validity. There can be no talk of any long-term credit policy.

\* Rigorous egalitarianism as concerns pay.

Says "B.K.," "Promoting people or granting different benefits or bonuses according to work input is all but impossible. This raises hell so that even people who are known to be mild become almost aggressive. On one such occasion, I was called a s.o.b., even though everything had been pushed through in a most democratic manner. In the future, alas, everybody will get the same. Rewarding people in a sensible way in proportion to their personal contributions appears to be a costly affair. 'To everyone according to his work' is a formula which finds no public acceptance in Poland, and no only in Poland. The same is true of progress and rationalization. Envy, jealousy, and hopeless regulations--all these render this matter partly or totally unfeasible."

POLAND

'POLITYKA'S' WEEKLY OPINION ROUNDUP

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 20, 18 May 85 p 2

[Text] Opinions. (Editorial footnote: The opinions and views expressed in this column are not necessarily those of this newspaper.)

Prof (Dr) Tadeusz Porebski, Politburo member, PZPR Central Committee secretary:  
(In an interview with Artur Hozwan and Jan Ruranski, PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY, 12 May)

[Question] Popular opinion says that the intellectual elite of our intelligentsia does not belong to the party.

[Answer] I think that this view has arisen from the literary circles. But it is not true that important people in society are avoiding the party. We have among our membership many distinguished Poles from the world of science, engineering and culture. This opinion, I believe, is being generated by those who believe that the great people of our times are only those who oppose the authorities. This is a very strange way of judging intellectual qualities, knowledge and social position.

\*

Wladyslaw Kruk, consul general of the Polish People's Republic in Kiev:  
(In an interview with Piotr Andrzejewski and Krzysztof Golata, WPROST, 5 May)

[Question] Is it possible to more or less describe the range of the consulate's sphere of influence?

[Answer] (...) Approximately 1,000 people within the sphere of influence of our consulate in the capital of the Ukraine are people who live here permanently and have a Polish consular passport. There is also a large number of Poles who are in the Ukraine temporarily, including about 5,500 people employed in construction (...) groups servicing our trade agencies (...). Approximately 600 Polish students are attending schools here (...) and about 100 doctoral-degree candidates and student interns come here each year. To this we should add groups of Russian-language teachers, party-apparatus workers, and social-science lecturers, who come here to attend courses to improve their qualifications. In addition, there are over 200,000 Soviet citizens living in the Ukraine who declare themselves to be of Polish nationality.

Rev Bishop Ignacy Tokarczuk: (NIEDZIELA, 28 April)

"We now have in our country 27 dioceses, 3 of which are not full. This is absolutely not enough if we are to further expand our ministerial work. Poland's population recently surpassed 37 million, and by the end of the century it will be 40 million. In view of this we should plan for about 40 full dioceses, each of which should number more or less 1 million residents (...). While planning new dioceses we should also give thought to new metropolises, of which Poland now has absolutely too few. Aside from ministerial justifications, the growing role of the Polish Church in the Universal Church also demands this."

Jerzy Jaskiernia, secretary general of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth (PRON) National Council: (In an interview with Zygmunt Rola, GLOS WIELKOPOLSKI, 3 May)

[Question] (...) what is the relationship of PRON to the episcopate of the Catholic Church?

[Answer] In 1982 primate Jozef Glemp made a declaration which related favorably to the activeness of secular Catholics in national-salvation committees.

[Question] But this is 1985...

[Answer] The primate did not return to this subject again. But among the signatories to PRON are three societies of lay Catholics. At the time the declaration was signed, it could be said of one of them--the Polish Catholic Social Union--that it was in close contact with the Church hierarchy. (...) If the hierarchy were to support the movement decisively (it is silent on the matter at this time) it would mean that one important obstacle to greater understanding would be overcome."

9295

CSO: 2600/787



POLAND

# RELIGIOUS FREEDOM DEFENSE GROUP VISITS

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 22 May 85 p 2

[Text] (PAP) At the invitation of the Seventh Day Adventists Church, Dr Gianfranco Rossi, secretary general of the International Society for the Defense of Religious Freedom, which has its headquarters in Berne, Switzerland, visited Poland. The world-renown fighter for separation of the state and the Church, for the granting of equal rights to all religious denominations in Italy and the application of these rights in practice, and the co-organizer of two world congresses on religious freedom--in Amsterdam and in Rome--delivered a lecture on 21 May 1985 at the Christian Theology Academy. Present were representatives of Polish non-Roman Catholic churches and the head of the Office of Religious Affairs, Minister Adam Lopatka.

Referring to Italy's past he described the current inequality of different religious denominations in Italy as compared with the Roman Catholic Church. He said that the current situation traces back to the so-called "lateran" pacts and concordat established during the time of Mussolini's fascist rule, which discriminated against non-Catholic religions and established Roman Catholicism as the state religion.

Gianfranco Rossi expressed the hope that in Italy as well as in other countries the principles established by the Second Vatican Council will be implemented, which will eliminate discrimination in matters of conscience and religion and guarantee social dignity among people, religious freedom and freedom of conviction.

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POLAND

PERSONNEL POLICY REVIEW IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS MINISTRY

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 18-19 May 85 p 2

[Text] (PAP) The PZPR District Committee in the Ministry of Internal Affairs held a meeting on 17 May 1985 which was devoted to an assessment of the implementation of cadre policy in the Ministry. In addition to ministry representatives, the meeting was attended by the chief of the PZPR Central Committee Cadre Policy Section, Brig Gen Wladyslaw Honkisz, and the secretary of the PZPR Warsaw Committee, Jerzy Boleslawski.

It was acknowledged in the report of the District Committee Executive Board and during the course of the discussion that cadre policy is being implemented in accordance with the main assumptions of PZPR cadre policy and the resolution of the PZPR District Committee in the Ministry of Internal Affairs dated 7 June 1983.

The generally favorable opinions do not negate the individual cases of negative attitudes or reprehensible behavior. Such cases have and will be revealed and condemned by party organizations and the persons holding these attitudes will be eliminated from the ranks of the functionaries.

In a resolution passed on the implementation of cadre policy in the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the District Committee is obliging party organizations and echelons and organization units to continue to steadily improve cadre policy, with particular attention to shaping committed ideological and moral attitudes and high discipline among functionaries in the Ministry.

9295

CSO: 2600/787

POLAND

BRIEFS

NEW JOURNALISTS CLUB--An SD Polish People's Republic Philosophical Journalism Club was formed. It has as its members newspapermen who in their daily work are involved with problems of religion, state-church relations, and the place and role of religious communities in today's world. At an organizational meeting held in Warsaw on 20 May 1985 a seven-member board was elected. Boguslaw Czarminski from Polish Television was elected president. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 21 May 85 p 2] 9295

CSO: 2600/787

ROMANIA

## NEW BORDER CROSSING CONTROL POINTS

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 24, 14 May 85 p 1

[Council of State Decree on the Opening of Control Points for Crossing the State Border]

[Text] The Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees:

Article 1--Approval is given for the opening of the following control points for crossing the state border, for international traffic of travellers and goods:

- a) the control point for crossing the Constanta-south state border, which carries out its activity in the area of the Danube-Black Sea Canal ports and in the free zone of the port of Constanta-south;
- b) the control point for crossing the Mangalia state border;
- c) the control point for crossing the Iron Gates II state border.

Article 2--The State Planning Committee and the Ministry of Finance will introduce the modifications stipulated in Attachment No 1\* in the single national plan for socio-economic development and in the structure and volume of the state budget for 1985, for the Ministry of Finance--General Directorate of Customs.

The number of personnel of the Ministry of the Interior and of the Ministry of National Defense is increased in accordance with Attachment No 2\*.

Article 3--Approval is given for supplying the Ministry of Finance--General Directorate of Customs--with a boat and three ARO automobiles, for supplying the Ministry of National Defense with two small vans and with two ARO automobiles, and for supplying the Ministry of the Interior with two minibuses and two automobiles, which are necessary for control activities.

Article 4--Attachments 1 and 2 are an integral part of the present decree.

Nicolae Ceausescu  
President of the Socialist Republic of  
Romania

Bucharest, 14 May 1985  
No 143

\*The attachment is being transmitted to the institutions concerned.

CSO: 2700/161

ROMANIA

BRIEFS

INTERIOR MINISTRY APPOINTMENTS--The president of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that the following comrades are appointed to the position of state secretary in the Department of State Security in the Ministry of the Interior: Major General Traian Gh Taulescu and Major General Stefan M. Alexie. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 24, 14 May 85 p 3]

AGRICULTURAL APPOINTMENT--The president of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Costel Eremia is relieved of his position as Ministry State Secretary in the Ministry of Agriculture and the Food Industry and chief of the Department for State Agriculture Comrade Florea Gruia is appointed minister state secretary in the Ministry of Agriculture and the Food Industry and chief of the Department for State Agriculture. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 24, 14 May 85 p 3]

CSO: 2700/161

24 June 1985

## YUGOSLAVIA

## NEW LAW PERMITS TERM ENLISTMENTS IN ARMED FORCES

Zagreb START in Serbo-Croatian No 422, 23 Mar 85 pp 16-17

[Article by Miroslav Lazanski: "Professionals in the JNA"]

[Text] Our new, recently adopted law on service in the armed forces provides for one innovation that will in all likelihood arouse the greatest interest among young people: it provides for the introduction in the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army] of the category of professional soldier, that is, of a soldier enlisted for a specific period of time. What are thus the bodies in society and in the Army most responsible for making a decision such as this?

At the beginning of the 1970s, the Federal Republic of Germany and the United States decided to embark on a joint project involving a supermodern tank which would form the backbone of the mechanized armor units of these countries' armies for the next 15 to 20 years. The program developed in accordance with guidelines set out by armor specialists in the two armies, and the result was the MBT-70 tank. Technically, technologically and in tactical capacities, this tank was 10 years ago the pinnacle in tank design in the world, but it was not put into mass production, since both armies sought a different solution. The reason? It was simply so technically complex that the ordinary soldier could not operate it, not even an American professional. It was necessary to go to a somewhat "simpler" tank, and thus the Americans got their M-1 and the West Germans the "Leopard 2." These two are indeed very complex machines in technical terms, but an engineering degree is not necessary in order to be a crewman on these tanks.

Furthermore, in many armies the tank commander is customarily a senior professional. In the Soviet army, the gunner is, in addition to the tank commander, a professional. This is crucial in a military encounter in which seconds count, since a first shell hitting off the mark can mean no chance for a second, corrective shot. On the one hand a professional, with several thousand practice shots in a training simulator and many years of experience behind him; on the other hand, a soldier on a recruitment schedule. Of course, the importance of a professional army should not be seen in absolute terms, because although such armies are expertly and technically well-trained, tough and agile, in terms of morale and in political respects they are often no match for armies that fight out of class and patriotic motives. However, the rapid development of military technology as well as of the new doctrines of

warfare are the reason that several changes are to be introduced in the JNA, the legal provisions of which with respect to the new means of supplementing personnel in the armed forces are of interest to young people in particular.

Specifically, in addition to general conscription, the new law on service in the armed forces (recently adopted) provides for a category of soldiers enlisted for a specific term, provided that during the regular military term training was done on specific duties. Soldiers are taken into service after 3 years, at the corresponding rank prescribed by law for soldiers. This means immediate promotion to one of the military ranks, up to junior sergeant, while all privileges and obligations (such as the wearing of a uniform, travel abroad, lodging in the barracks and material and disciplinary responsibility) are put into effect in keeping with regulations that apply to soldiers. This new, professional soldier of ours receives personal income, compensations, vacation and leave, retirement, disability and medical and other social security benefits just as individuals in active military service for a specific term. Personal income will naturally depend on rank, but also on tasks and duties, as well as efficiency in executing them. After 3 years, during which time the soldier must comply with specific conditions and acquire the necessary expertise, he can be promoted to junior officer, or officer, and thus enter into a permanent employment situation.

Without a doubt, this new law broadens the range of employment for young people, which is of particular interest to society. Moreover, it enables youth who desire a military career, but who for a variety of circumstances have not attended a military school, to realize their wish. In their duties as squad or tank commander, as operator of expensive and complex engineering machinery or components of particular complex technical systems or as computer operator (all in three-year extended service and, if they wish and are deemed satisfactory, on a permanent basis), young professional soldiers are no doubt the result of the high price and complexity of modern combat technology, which demands a high degree of expertise from those dealing with it. The fact is that our Army has for several years failed to draw university graduates with technical expertise, because young people go into the service immediately after completing secondary school. This is one of the reasons for the new legal provisions concerning soldiers on term enlistment.

The trend of professionalizing the armed forces spread, at the beginning of the 1980s, to many of the world's developed countries. The transition from the system of general conscription to the professional system has been influenced by large expenditures for the maintenance of massive armies, the decreasing popularity of army careers, the impossibility of effectively and thoroughly training soldiers on complex weaponry and equipment in the relatively short term of general conscription duty, political and economic changes in some countries as well as by changes in international relations. In 1973, the United States went over from the system of general and selective conscription to a system based on a standing army of well-paid professional soldiers. Similar steps were taken by Australia, while the armed forces of FRG, Italy, Spain and France, although based on general conscription, contain many elements and aspects of a professional army. The West Germans have a combined system of reinforcements, and according to their 1961 law on the legal position of

soldiers, the armed forces contain three types of soldier: soldiers in permanent service (professionals), soldiers in voluntary service for a specific period of time and soldiers on a compulsory term of military service. Almost half of the armed forces is made up of volunteers earning wages, with terms from 2 to 12 years, while the rest are conscripts with military terms of 15 months. The percentage of West German paid professional soldiers is particularly high in Army paratrooper units as well as in the Navy and Air Force.

The French also have a combined system of reinforcements in the armed forces. The majority of soldiers serving compulsory military terms are in the troops for operational territorial defense (term of service: 12 months), while professional volunteer soldiers serve from 2 to 5 years, most of them in the strategic nuclear forces as well as in the rapid deployment forces. There also exist individuals in the military on renewed terms of service (selectively from 16 to 24 months). Ten years ago, approximately 46 percent of the members of the French armed forces had professional status.

Our neighboring Austrians have an army consisting of soldiers on compulsory six-month terms of service, soldiers on extended terms lasting 12 to 15 months and soldiers on enlistments lasting from 3 to 9 years (arranged according to tasks and duties of specialists). The Greeks are just now introducing elements of professionalism, and the Swiss army has them as well, based on a territorial militia system. Instructional and officer personnel, fortress sentry units and parts of the Air Force are supplemented by professionals.

In recent years, there has been increasing debate in many Western armies concerning the need to completely professionalize the armed forces, especially land forces. The majority of Western military sociologists, political scientists, historians, anthropologists and social psychologists are in favor of abolishing the mass army and creating a small, automated army of technicians and specialists. Even if this is not permissible due to certain general political, strategic and other reasons, Western military experts do feel it is necessary to form units of combined reinforcements, based on general conscription together with professional, paid soldiers. Of course, this is worthwhile only in peacetime, and in case of war all Western countries would go over (as in previous wars) to a system of mass armies, based on general conscription.

Since the First, and especially the Second World War, contemporary warfare has become not only more destructive and characterized by increasingly expensive means of combat, but also increasingly oriented towards technology. Great significance is attached to the quality of weaponry and to technical innovations. The armies of the superpowers are simply obsessed with automation, technology and the production of supermodern arms systems. With a high level of military technology, bloc armies are endeavoring to reduce shortcomings and weaknesses in other areas, generally with respect to motivation for combat, fighting morale and creative involvement of people in the armed forces. However, this trend, conveyed in the dominance of military technology and in its somewhat independent role, sometimes leads to the absurd, and becomes an obstruction to the creation of actual military forces. The opinion is in fact already being advanced in the West that qualitative advantages in arms can only be effective if there exists between the adversaries a balance in the

other factors involved in waging armed combat and war; this takes in the quantity of arms, but also, with particular significance, the quality and quantity of people.

When international circumstances and worldwide technological development influence the production of sophisticated, high-quality arms systems with high firing power of a universal character, often forgotten are the physical and mental capabilities of the person who is using this weaponry: his intelligence, psychological stability, morale, motivation to serve in the army and fight and the extent of his education and specialized training. The functioning of a complex weaponry system is often interrupted by breakdowns and malfunctions, and thus calls for a highly specialized staff of professionals to maintain these weaponry and non-combat systems on the battlefield. Contemporary combat between ordinary armed infantry units is much simpler than combat characterized by the participation on both sides of large numbers of tanks, armored personnel carriers, self-propelled weaponry and helicopters for fire support, transport and antiarmor combat. Such combat, using modern military technology, calls for a high-quality human factor on all levels, from managing the complex weaponry systems to commanding, but especially on the lower and middle levels of the military organization. The fact is that the flexibility of traditional military formations is not unlimited, and that with the introduction of an increasing number of subsystems, of large "consumers of command and rear-echelon organs and services," the danger also arises that the combat system would be paralyzed at a weak point, whereby the value in combat of officers, soldiers and material resources participating in such combat would be fundamentally reduced.

There is a great deal of difference today in speeds: from the speed of a person walking to the speed of a supersonic airplane. The dispersion of combat is a rule of thumb (because of the danger of nuclear attack), and it does not allow complicated regulations nor dense combat columns. The battlefield commonly extends for tens and hundreds of kilometers, and is extremely "saturated" with technology. Dispersion and the speed of the various mobile elements taking part in combat, the great diversity of the resources employed, the singular nature of problems in the different parts of the system and, finally, the limitations resulting from this diversity promote uncertainty and have a detrimental effect on decision-making.

No matter how brilliant, the modern commander in a modern war today can no longer embrace the entirety of facets to a tactical problem: the variable, sometimes unknown, facts are too numerous and the criteria too technical for one person, or even one group of people, to ever be able to make a coherent decision based on all of it. Of course, this is not to doubt the talents of commanders in the various stages of command, but rather to imply that the phenomenon of "modern battle" is very complex, extensive and heterogeneous. The particular role of the commander is prescribed by the demand for extraordinary flexibility in making decisions, which manifests itself as a result of the special quality of military prognostication associated with the tendency to restrict the amount of time taken to form prognoses in the army. Possibly no other person engages in activities that so strongly demand quick thinking and brevity in making a prognosis of the situation and in making decisions as



do the activities of a commander. Delaying in making a decision means passively freezing events that have already developed. In making a decision, the commander makes use of regulations, rules and principles of military expertise, which are general models and are not stereotyped for every situation. Some principles and tenets are definitely contradictory. The principle of concentrating forces is somewhat contradictory to the principle of taking by surprise, while the need to inflict the first violent blow is somewhat contradictory to the principle of maintaining strong reserves in order to intensify pressure at the site of combat. All this is to say that the great diversity of and rapid changes in the situation in modern warfare demand of the commander that he rely adequately on his subordinates. And they must be extremely competent in their work and duties.

The Second World War, and especially the war in Vietnam, showed that some weaponry systems are too complex for the average soldier.

The development of modern military technology often outdistances human capabilities (training and psychological preparedness) to master this technology, or rather to deal with it successfully in a combat situation. This trend will in part continue in the next decade. The increase in the complexity of weaponry and arms of a universal character, regardless of the attempts by technical designers to accommodate them to human capabilities, requires qualitatively better soldiers in combat units. In order that the desired results be achieved with the new technology, the human factor must be at a corresponding level.

In 1979, the U.S. Army accepted 46 percent of the soldiers who, according to level of intelligence (defined in accordance with the demands of modern armaments), belonged in the fourth (and lowest) category acceptable for service in the armed forces. The soldiers were not capable of differentiating between the many manuals and rules for maintaining the weapons. According to a Senate report, an inspection established the fact that 21 percent of all gunners in American tanks in the Federal Republic of Germany do not know how to use targeting equipment, while the percentage of tank crewmen not dressed in keeping with standards expected in the U.S. Army ranges from 40 to 50 percent. Of the 666 American tank maintenance mechanics that were tested, only 15 to 33 percent were able to determine in time the reason for a tank malfunction. The invariable tendency of an increase in the gap between the average complexity of weaponry put into operative use and the soldier of average quality is eliciting great concern among American strategists, because this is not without consequences for the total preparedness of the armed forces. The same problems are being seen in certain other armies that are emphasizing the development of modern weaponry at the expense of the human factor. For medium-sized and small countries, which base their defense not so much on complex and expensive weaponry systems as on specifically organizing and equipping sufficiently modern and effective weaponry, the newly perfected military technology is certainly necessary, but it alone is insufficient for successfully waging battle. It only has an optimal effect when it is operated by a person who adopts and efficiently applies the doctrine for its use and who is, of course, motivated to make the most of all possibilities and advantages of this technology.

Experiences from recent wars have shown that a high level of technical and technological knowledge is necessary for soldiers in all specialized areas, and not only those who deal with the most modern and extremely complex weaponry and technology. New demands for programs in specialized instruction are also forcing the need for corresponding changes in curriculum, both in the armed forces and in schools among the populace. From this, one may proceed to the position that during schooling in "civilian" schools knowledge must be acquired that will make it possible to successfully master specialized instruction in the course of the term of military service, or rather in the course of military schooling. Otherwise, the period of schooling and service would have to be extended substantially, especially in markedly technical branches and posts.

The new law on service in the armed forces, which provides for enlisted professional soldiers, is the result of a general worldwide trend, but it is in fact an alternative to this possible extension of the military term as well.

12271

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24 June 1985

YUGOSLAVIA

PLANINC, MUGABE GIVE BELGRADE LUNCHEON TOASTS

LD251848 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 25 May 85

[Text] Belgrade--Milka Planinc, president of the Federal Executive Council, gave a formal luncheon in Belgrade today in honor of Robert Mugabe, prime minister of the Republic of Zimbabwe.

In her toast, Milka Planinc stressed that Prime Minister Mugabe's visit is a continuation of a constant dialogue and traditional cooperation between Yugoslavia and Zimbabwe.

The close links between our people reflect not only our common orientation to pursue and fight for the full realization of the principle of nonalignment, but also the fact that we proceed from the belief in every country's right to decide freely and independently about the paths of its political, social and economic development, Milka Planinc said.

Yugoslavia supports Zimbabwe's determination to safeguard its independence and to persevere along the road of socialism, according to its own circumstances, specific features and traditions. Just as you have done so far, in your future efforts you can always count on our wholehearted support, she stressed.

Pointing to the results of the two friendly nonaligned countries' cooperation, Milka Planinc expressed her satisfaction with what has been achieved so far, but also drew attention to the as yet untapped potentials for new forms of long-term cooperation, primarily in the economic, scientific-technical and educational-cultural spheres.

Most people share our concern over the present crisis in political and economic relations in the world, Milka Planinc said. The crisis weighs heavily on and threatens the regions which are of most vital interest for mankind. The confrontation between the great powers and blocs has intensified the arms race, and the frequent use of political force, pressures and interference in the internal affairs of other countries. The issue of development, particularly in the case of the rights of the least developed countries, is being settled either at a slow pace or not at all.

Particularly at risk are peace, security and the development on the African continent, Africa's problems call for the entire international community's support, but without interference, Milka Planinc said.

We have no dilemmas when it comes to denouncing Pretoria's racist policy and its protracted illegal occupation of Namibia and its aggression against neighbouring countries. As far as we are concerned, the struggle against apartheid is the struggle for humanity's dignity.

Yugoslavia calls for an urgent and unconditional granting of independence to Namibia. It is in sharpest terms that we protest South Africa's attempts to create a puppet state in Namibia, and thus prolong its occupation of this country, Milka Planinc said, and stressed the need for an effective action by the movement of nonaligned countries and the entire international community to ensure a peaceful and secure development of all the countries in southern Africa.

The activity by the nonaligned countries, in accordance with the UN Charter, could greatly contribute to the settling of problems and the elimination of the hotbeds of crisis in the world. We must analyze, in as realistic terms as possible, the steps which should be taken, not only at the forthcoming foreign ministers' meeting in Luanda, but in future as well, to enable the Nonaligned Movement to carry out its tasks and policy.

Cooperation between Yugoslavia and Zimbabwe contributes to the nonaligned countries' concerted efforts to realize the movement's noble goals, Milka Planinc said.

Replying to Milka Planinc's toast, Robert Mugabe recalled Yugoslavia's great support and assistance at the time of Zimbabwe's struggle for independence. Today, Yugoslavia and Zimbabwe are partners in the process of developing a new social, political and economic order in independent Zimbabwe, he said.

This cooperation takes place in many spheres, particularly in economy, information technology, culture, science and education. Yugoslavia, as a founder country of the Nonaligned Movement, has for years been inspiring the developing countries with courage and hope, Mugabe said, and stressed that the countries in southern Africa highly appreciate Yugoslavia's solidarity and support in their struggle against apartheid.

The racist policy, pursued by the regime in Pretoria, causes particular concern, and it is therefore necessary to take measures to safeguard the independence and sovereignty of the free countries in southern Africa, which were won at a high price. We are, Mugabe stressed, resolute in our efforts to oppose all the attacks on the sovereignty of the countries in southern Africa, and all upon our friends to help us in this.

Apartheid is doomed to defeat, Mugabe said, and today, we are witnessing a struggle by the people of Namibia, under the SWAPO leadership, a struggle

which will bring to an end South Africa's colonial occupation of Namibia. Today, more than ever before, we are nearing the final eradication of colonialism from the African continent, and are convinced of our victory.

We are also confident that the remarkable cooperation between Yugoslavia and Zimbabwe, developed in such a short period since our independence, will continue to expand to the benefit of both countries.

CSO: 2800/334

YUGOSLAVIA

LJUBICIC ADDRESSES KRUSEVAC AKTIV MEETING ON ECONOMY

LD232039 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1038 GMT 23 May 85

["Ljubicic Report at Session of Economic-Political Aktiv in Krusevac"--  
TANJUG headline]

[Excerpts] Krusevac, 23 May (TANJUG)--Nikola Ljubicic, speaking about economic results recorded last year, said that we could be satisfied with what we had achieved overall, but he warned that developments at the beginning of 1985 were not in keeping with what had been envisaged. Although production was gradually increasing, imports and exports were not in keeping with the plans, and consumption, reserves, and particularly prices are continuing to grow.

We all know that we are living and working in complex political and economic conditions, Ljubicic continued, adding that there is no room for dramatizing the situation or showing only one side. Portraying the situation without proposing how to achieve progress causes confusion among the ranks of the working class, Ljubicic stressed. Enough has been said about failures, and too little about results and successes.

With regard to the implementation of the long-term program of economic stabilization, Ljubicic pointed out that we must not all blame the Federal Executive Council, but instead, everyone must do what is expected of him. What can be achieved by economic policy measures and laws, what can be achieved by correctly oriented production organization, the choice of production program and a greater working and technological discipline, must be made clear. Enough discussion and argument. Let us start with concrete measures. For instance, in order to relieve the economy it is necessary to establish the role of state organs, various chambers, communities and associations, municipalities, and so forth, and find out what is due to megalomania in the management of organizations themselves.

The way out of the present difficulties lies in increased production, Ljubicic stressed. He assessed as very encouraging the fact that industrial production had significantly increased in April, adding that this, together with greater efficiency aimed at suppressing other negative phenomena, could contribute to efforts to increase exports and suppress negative tendencies in foreign-economic exchange. Judging everything, Ljubicic stressed, there are good prospects for realizing this year's development policy.

Nikola Ljubicic then dwelt on the development of the country in the following medium-term period, and warned of the importance of coordinating basic development proportions, on which the functioning of the unified Yugoslav market, the proportional development of all the republics and provinces, and the proportional and successful development of Yugoslavia as a whole depend.

Continuing his report, Nikola Ljubicic dwelt on the problem of prices and inflation. I think, he said, that this is the most serious problem our society is facing and against which it is struggling. We are all talking about inflation, but not even experts go further than diagnosis, prescribing no remedy. It is true that the domestic economy structured in such way--not accumulative, lacking in orientation, not adequately prepared for exports, and depending on imported raw materials--represents one of the factors of inflation, Ljubicic noted.

After pointing out the importance of increased production and productivity, aimed at surmounting the present social difficulties, Nikola Ljubicic stressed the great importance of the consistent implementation of adopted laws. He added that penal policy should be more severe toward those who are violating laws, as well as toward those who are misusing social property, evading tax payment, engaging in black market trade, or concluding fictitious agreements in order to enrich themselves. There must be no opportunism in this field, Ljubicic stressed. We must, he continued, further enhance the question of the rational spending of social resources set aside for business trips, entertainment allowance and traveling expenses, and so forth.

Finally, Ljubicic talked about events in connection with the celebration of the 40th anniversary of victory over fascism.

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24 June 1985

YUGOSLAVIA

## MAMULA GREETES ARMY PERSONNEL ON YOUTH DAY

LD241320 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0821 GMT 24 May 85

[Text] Belgrade, 24 May (TANJUG)--Fleet Admiral Branko Mamula, federal secretary for national defense, sent the following message of congratulations to the men, cadets, young officers, and civilian personnel serving in the Yugoslav People's Army on the occasion of Youth Day, 25 May:

"I send you my congratulations on 25 May, Youth Day, and the 40th anniversary of Tito's youth relay run and wish you much youthful joy and even more prominent results in the work to strengthen the combat readiness and moral-political unity of our armed forces. Together with young people throughout our country and all our nations and nationalities you are celebrating your day during the jubilee year of our revolution in which we also celebrate the 40th anniversary of victory over fascism and the liberation of the country.

"In all the stages of our socialist revolution and at all the crucial moments of our country's socialist self-managing development, our young people have always given the League of Communists and the working class powerful support in their struggle for socialist self-managing relations and the development of the gains of our revolution, especially brotherhood and unity, and has always justified Comrade Tito's boundless confidence in our young people.

"In the present complex international situation and difficulties in our internal development, the tasks and obligations allocated to you young people in the armed forces are again very complex and exacting. Consequently, in the coming period all your activities should be aimed at promoting combat training and education, strengthening moral-political qualities, order and discipline and security and self-protection, promoting economy measures and a responsible attitude to arms and equipment and to the organizing of diverse cultural, entertainment, and sporting activities in the units and establishments of the Yugoslav People's Army. Through your own ideopolitical activity you should develop and cultivate the noble working and moral image of a member of the Federation of Socialist Youth of Yugoslavia. Through your self-denying work you should raise the level of ideopolitical readiness and Marxist training. You should seek knowledge and instruction in the inexhaustible sources of our revolution and the glowing examples provided by members of the



League of Communist Youth of Yugoslavia during the war of national liberation. Guard and develop brotherhood and unity between our nations and nationalities, because they have been and continue to be the fundamental value of our revolution. You should be consistent in following Tito's revolutionary path and be resolute fighters for the preservation of the gains of our revolution and active creators of its further socialist self-managing development. I congratulate you once more on Youth Day and wish you further valuable successes in your everyday and military and personal life and work."

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24 June 1985

## YUGOSLAVIA

## VIDIC PRESENTS REPORT AT LCY COMMISSION SESSION

LD221758 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1248 GMT 22 May 85

[Text] Belgrade, 22 May (TANJUG)--Today's session of the LCY Central Committee's Commission for International Cooperation, presided over by Dusan Dragosavac, discussed a draft text of the 13th LCY Congress platform's section devoted to the world situation and the trends in the workers' and progressive movement. An extensive report on the hitherto and future work on the platform's international sections was submitted by Dobrivoje Vidic, head of the working group appointed by the 13th LCY Congress preparatory committee. Members of the commission made a positive assessment of the work done so far on this part of the platform and, still supporting the basic orientation, made some proposals for amending and improving the text.

Dragoslav Markovic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, informed the members of the commission about the observations made by the LCY delegation to the 13th MSZMP Congress. In the delegation's report, Markovic's address and in the debate, emphasis was placed on the high level of development of relations between the LCY and the MSZMP and between the two socialist countries, and on Yugoslavia's lasting interest in promoting relations and cooperation within the framework of good-neighborliness, understanding among people, and in the interest of peace and socialism.

Mitja Ribicic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, informed the commission members about the third meeting of former prime ministers' inter-action council, which was held in Paris at the end of April. The information also referred to the council's future activity and initiatives. Participants in the discussion expressed their interest in this nongovernmental representative organization's composition, its work, and method of discussing topical international trends.

CSO: 2800/334

YUGOSLAVIA

DIZDAREVIC DISCUSSES NONALIGNMENT, ECONOMY, ALBANIA, EMIGRES

PM221547 Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 17 May 85 p 14

[Undated interview with SFRY Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs Raif Dizdarevic by Disa Hastad: "We Won't Throw Ourselves Into Anyone's Arms"]

[Text] Stockholm--"If Yugoslavia hosts the next nonaligned summit it would be a recognition of Yugoslavia's efforts for the movement," Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs Raif Dizdarevic said.

There is less said about Yugoslavia's foreign policy since Tito's death. The prophets of doom who predicted the country's rapid disintegration have not been proved right. Crises have come and bottomless pits have been revealed in the economy, but the determination to tighten belts has produced some results.

But since Tito disappeared from the scene politics have been grayer. Relatively anonymous rulers, appointed on the rotation principle in order to satisfy the interests of the states in the federation, have made politics less easy to follow for interested parties both inside and outside the country.

And not as many colorful delegations visit Belgrade as did in Tito's era. Then the rules of the Third World competed to curry favor with him, and Yugoslav schoolchildren grew up with the firm conviction that Tito was best, nonalignment the only correct policy, and Yugoslavia the finest country in the world.

Now Yugoslavia prefers to appear as a balanced country, willing to cooperate with everyone on a basis of equality and sovereignty.

When Swedish Foreign Minister Lennart Bodstrom was in Yugoslavia last winter the two foreign ministers described their two countries' positions as very similar to each other--both geopolitically and in terms of the views they hold.

Leaving banquet speeches aside, the truth is that Sweden and Yugoslavia have been able to work very well together at the European security conference where both are members of the NN-group (of neutral and nonaligned states.)

But Yugoslavia is a one-party state in a federation composed of many nationalities. Its former close relationship with the Soviet Union prior to the break in 1948 and its subsequent political life, in which Tito came to occupy a central position in the Nonaligned Movement, give Yugoslavia a point of departure very different to that of Sweden.

In addition, Yugoslavia's economic situation--where in order to achieve rapid development people grabbed the investment capital offered to them rather more enthusiastically than wisely--is similar to that of the developing nations in terms of debt burden and cannot be compared with that of Sweden.

When the NN-nations' foreign ministers met in Stockholm recently DAGENS NYHETER was granted an interview with Yugoslav Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs Raif Dizdarevic.

Dizdarevic is a Bosnian Muslim and comes from a famous family which has occupied important foreign policy posts. One of his brothers is an adviser to the Central Committee and the other is ambassador to Algeria and was previously ambassador in Iraq. Dizdarevic himself has a past career as a trade union politician.

There have been rumors in Belgrade this spring that Yugoslavia should again host a nonaligned summit. The meeting in question is the eighth summit, which is actually scheduled to take place in Baghdad in 1986.

"It would be recognition of Yugoslavia's efforts if we were once again to play host," Raif Dizdarevic told DAGENS NYHETER. "But there are principles to be taken into account. On the one hand no country should play host twice--and we have already hosted one meeting--and on the other there is the geographical spread. According to the latter, it ought to be Saharan Africa's turn."

In a parliamentary report in April Raif Dizdarevic himself said that the Nonaligned Movement has not been as active and dynamic as it should have been.

He told DAGENS NYHETER that the policy of nonalignment has not had less significance for post-Tito Yugoslavia, rather the reverse. On the other hand the movement's work has been made more difficult by the serious deterioration in the international situation, particularly with respect to the economic situation of the developing countries.

"But in actual fact a great deal of activity is taking place," the foreign minister said. "We have just discussed Namibia's future and we are seeking a Security Council meeting on Namibia. We have also discussed action within the United Nations in support of the PLO."

Economic discussions also take place. Both on South-South economic cooperation (between the poor nations) and on concrete contributions to the North-South dialogue. The topics here are food production, and questions to do with the burden of debt and with the least developed countries.

In his parliamentary report Raid Dizdarevic also raised "the special attention paid to Yugoslavia by well-meaning and not so well-meaning circles" which believe that they can put the country under pressure since it has been weakened by its serious debt crisis. Yugoslavia has become more dependent on trade with the Soviet Union since it is no longer receiving credits in the West because of its debts. Are those commentators right who say that the debt crisis is driving Yugoslavia into the arms of the Soviet Union?

"Everyone saying this forgets that Yugoslavia has gone through much more difficult times in its postwar history--without throwing itself into anyone's arms. Yugoslavia follows its own democratic road of internal development and self-management. We want to develop relations with all countries, including the United States," Raif Dizdarevic replied.

In a message of condolence to Albania after the death of Enver Hoxha, Yugoslavia hinted at its readiness to improve relations with its neighbor. Does this mean that Albania could soon be welcomed into the Nonalignment Movement?

"You are very farsighted if you think that Albania will join the Nonaligned Movement. But our policy has not changed: We want our neighbor Albania to be fully independent--territorially and in foreign policy. We would like to see cooperation in all areas. Their internal development is their own affair."

In Kosovo, the Yugoslav province where 80 percent of the population are Albania, reactions were very restrained during Enver Hoxha's funeral. Is this a good sign for the future?

"I consider that the situation in Kosovo is stable. I do not believe it is dependent on the situation in Albania. It is true that Albania has pursued a policy of intervention across the border, and that has made cooperation difficult. We have many Albanians in Yugoslavia--they are a nation. We have always wanted to have our relations free from interference in each other's affairs."

Does this mean that you regret your policy in the forties when Yugoslavia was actively involved in the life of Albania?

"No. But we have to find a form of cooperation which meets today's needs."

Relations between Sweden and Yugoslavia have often been influenced by the fact that among the Yugoslavs in Sweden there are those who have cooperated with terrorist groups. But Federal Secretary Dizdarevic considers that the Yugoslavs in Sweden are a bridge between the two countries.

"The extremist, profascist groups' activities are a different matter. Unfortunately their activities have increased recently. Their actions are sometimes directed against the relations between our countries. But we hope that Sweden will be able to find ways to stem this."

Do the current trials in Croatia serve a psychological, if not deterrent purpose, over and above their function of administering justice?

"The trials show that there are terrorist groups that are subversive and that they receive support from abroad. They were given their training and their arms in West Germany and they carried out an act of terrorism. We have always said that terrorism gives birth to terrorism."

At the NN-nations' foreign ministers' press conference Switzerland stressed that all parts of the Helsinki agreement are equally important and that people will not allow the "third basket," that is, human rights, to be ignored. Has Yugoslavia--whose observance of human rights is sometimes criticized by Amnesty International--such strong feelings on this point?

"We regard the third basket as important--but there are three baskets. We see cooperation as confidence-building measures, and then we want mutual trust. We believe that this cooperation can provide broader scope for human rights in Europe and the world."

CSO: 2800/334

YUGOSLAVIA

TV SHOWS ATTENDANCE AT 8 MAY PRESIDIU SESSION

AU271518 [Editorial Report] Belgrade Television Service in Serbo-Croatian at 1730 GMT on 8 May carries a 2-minute video report on the session of the LCY Central Committee Presidium session held on that day with Ali Sukrija in the chair. The Presidium discussed the immediate tasks arising from the decisions of the 17th LCY Central Committee session and heard a report presented by Milka Planinc, president of the Federal Executive Council, on the Federal Executive Council's proposed solutions in the system of economic relations with foreign countries.

The video report shows the following people attending the session, sitting at the usual round table, clockwise: an unknown man, Georgije Jovicic, Miljan Radovic, Vidoje Zarkovic, an empty seat, Kiro Hadzivasilev, Milan Pancevski, Trpe Jakovlevski, an empty seat, an unrecognizable man, Bosko Krunic, Dobrivoje Vidic, two empty seats, Dragoslav Markovic, an empty seat, SFRY Presidency President Veselin Djuranovic, an empty seat, Ali Sukrija, Dimce Belovski, an empty seat, Milka Planinc, Borislav Srebic, vice president of the Federal Executive Council; an unknown man, Svetislav Dolasevic, Dusan Dragosavac, Jure Bilic, Hamdija Pozderac, Mato Andric, Nikola Stojanovic, two empty seats, an unrecognizable man, Mitja Ribicic, Milan Kucan, three empty seats, and two unknown men.

CSO: 2800/334

YUGOSLAVIA

BRIEFS

DAGESTAN DELEGATION VISITS KOSOVO--Pristina, 23 May (TANJUG)--A delegation of the Soviet Autonomous Republic of Dagestan today completed its several-day visit to the Yugoslav Province of Kosovo. The Dagestan delegation, headed by Ministerial Council President Mahamet Magamedomovich, today had closing talks with a Kosovo delegation headed by Kosovo Executive Council President Nedeljo Borkovic. It was stated that on the occasion the importance of these meetings and their contribution to further development of relations and cooperation between Dagestan and Kosovo within the framework of the overall Yugoslav-Soviet cooperation were stressed. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG in English 1804 GMT 23 May 85 LD]

MAMULA RETURNS FROM FRANCE--Belgrade, 24 May (TANJUG)--The Yugoslav federal secretary for national defence, Admiral of the Fleet Branko Mamula, returned here today from an official visit to the French Republic and its armed forces. Admiral Mamula talked with Charles Hernu, France's minister of national defence, on the state of security in Europe and a further development of cooperation between the armed forces of Yugoslavia and France. The Yugoslav People's Army delegation led by Admiral Mamula visited some units and institutions of France's armed forces. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG in English 1332 GMT 24 May 85 LD]

PULA COURT JAILS STUDENT--Pula, 23 May (TANJUG)--Under Article 134 of the Yugoslav Criminal Law, Valter Pinezic (22), a student from Rovinj, was sentenced today by the Grand Council of the Pula District Court to 2 and 1/2 years imprisonment for the criminal act of fomenting racial, religious and nationalist hatred, and intolerance. Pinezic was also found guilty of distributing narcotics, primarily among minors, for which crime he was sentenced to 18 months in prison. Goran Jukic and Kresimir Loncarevic [not further identified] were sentenced to 18 months and 1 year in prison respectively, also for the criminal act of distributing narcotics. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1653 GMT 23 May 85 LD]

'NATIONALIST' SINGER SENTENCED--Banja Luka, 24 May (TANJUG)--The bench of three judges of the District Court in Banja Luka, presided over by Judge Gojko Vukotic, today passed prison sentences on Rajko Stojic, 32, of Kljuc, and Branko Stojic, 34, of Sitnica for the criminal acts of fomenting national, racial and religious hatred and harming the prestige of the SFRY and the name and work of Comrade Tito. The main defendant, Rajko Stojic, was



24 June 1985

sentenced to 7 years's imprisonment for the offense committed, which was fully proved during the proceedings. The second defendant, Branko Stojic, received 4 years imprisonment. The two men, who are not related, admitted in court that in a cafe at Sitnica, at a motel on Mt Cadjavica and in a house owned by Rajko Stojic and his mother Grozda they sang songs expressing nationalist and Chetnik sentiments during a family celebration and on 14 January of this year. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1404 GMT 24 May 85 LD]

DIZDAREVIC MESSAGE TO DPRK--Pyongyang, 16 May (TANJUG)--Democratic People's Republic of Korea Vice Premier and Foreign Minister Kim Yong-nam received today Yugoslav Ambassador in Pyongyang Ljupce Taciowski who delivered to him a message of Yugoslav Foreign Secretary Raif Dizdarevic. The message relates to joint activities and cooperation of the two countries in forth coming non-aligned meetings. In the ensuing friendly talk current questions relating to bilateral cooperation and international situation were discussed. Kim Yong-nam thanked Yugoslavia for its consistent support to North Korean efforts towards a peaceful unification of the country and Pyongyang's recent proposal for establishing cooperation between the parliaments of North and South Korea. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG in English 1133 GMT 16 May 85 AU]

VLAJKOVIC AWARDS FRENCH AMBASSADOR--Belgrade, 27 May (TANJUG)--Radovan Vlackovic, president of the SFRY Presidency, today presented the Order of Yugoslav Banner with Sash to Jacques Dupuy, the French ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the SFRY. Afterward, Presidency President Radovan Vlackovic had a friendly conversation with Ambassador Dupuy who is soon to leave Yugoslavia. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1424 GMT 27 May 85 LD]

ORTHODOX, CATHOLIC LEADERS MEET--Karlovac, 25 May (TANJUG)--The heads of the Serbian Orthodox Church and the Roman Catholic Church in Yugoslavia today urged greater mutual cooperation, understanding and respect. Patriarch German of the Serbian Orthodox Church and archbishop of Zagreb and president of the Bishops Conference of Yugoslavia Franjo Kuharic met today at the celebration of the 200th anniversary of the Serbia Orthodox Church Sveti Nikola in Karlovac, Yugoslav Republic of Croatia. The host, Bishop of Gornji Karlovac Simeun Zlokovic set out at the celebration that it was up to the churches to build confidence among nations and states, spread brotherhood and solidarity, and preach cooperation and mutual acceptance. Archbishop Franjo Kuharic said, "We must all endeavor, regardless of how history has divided us, to build bridges of cooperation, understanding, respect and love". Kuharic expressed the hope that the dialogue established between the theology schools of the two churches would be raised to a higher level when a mixed committee is formed, as proposed by the Bishops Conference of Yugoslavia. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG in English 1839 GMT 25 May 85 LD]

SUKRIJA RETURNS FROM FRANCE--Belgrade, 25 May (TANJUG) --Ali Sukrija, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, who visited France at the invitation of Lionel Jospin, first secretary of the French Socialist Party, returned to Belgrade today. Svetislav Stojakov, executive secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, and Borislav Milosevic, head of the section for international cooperation, also returned with Sukrija. At Belgrade airport they

were greeted by Dobrivoje Vidic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, and Stanislav Stojanovic, executive secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 25 May 85 LD]

ARMY HELICOPTER CRASH--Belgrade, 24 May (TANJUG)--At 0850 GMT today in the vicinity of Budva an army helicopter crashed while on regular exercise duty. The helicopter pilot, Lt Milorad Kojic, was killed and five persons were injured. The injured were taken to Titograd hospital. A special commission is investigating the causes of the crash. Lt Col Gen Metodije Stefanovski, assistant federal secretary of national defense, and Lt Col Gen Zivorad Lazarevic visited the scene of the crash soon afterwards. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1818 GMT 24 May 85 LD]

SARAJEVO COMMITTEE PRESIDENT REELECTED--At its session today the Sarajevo LC City Committee reelected Ivan Bragic president of the Sarajevo LC City Committee for the coming year. [Excerpt] [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1234 GMT 17 May 85 LD]

NEW SERBIAN JOURNALISTS' CHIEF--Belgrade, 21 May (TANJUG)--Bogdan Decermic was elected president of the presidency of the Association of Journalists of Serbic today at the first session of the newly constituted presidency, which was elected at the 25th electoral assembly of the association held recently. [Summary] [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2057 GMT 21 May 85 LD]

ALGERIAN CULTURAL COOPERATION--Belgrade, 20 May (TANJUG)--A protocol on cultural and scientific cooperation between Yugoslavia and Algeria in 1985 and 1986 was signed here today. This year's protocol provides for a further development and betterment of so-far successful cooperation in education, science and culture between the two friendly and non-aligned countries. Among other things, it provides for training Algerian cadres for work on film-making and restoring cultural monuments. Algeria will take part in the activities of the Josip Broz Tito Gallery of Arts of the non-aligned countries and scholarships for full-time and graduate studies will be exchanged and interuniversity cooperation will be intensified. In the fields of science and public health, cooperation in seismological engineering and seismology is provided. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG in English 1826 GMT 20 May 85 LD]

JAZIC ENDS ANGOLA TALKS--Luanda, 15 May (TANJUG)--Yugoslav Assistant Foreign Secretary Zivojin Jazic ended in Luanda today political consultations with Angolan officials on preparations for the ministerial conference of the non-aligned countries, due to be held in the capital of this African country early in September. Jazic discussed preparations for the conference with Ambassador in the Angolan Foreign Ministry Olga Lima. Zivojin Jazic also discussed bilateral cooperation with Angolan Deputy Foreign Minister Frans Van Dunem. The Yugoslav-Angolan consultations prior to the ministerial conference of the non-aligned, and talks on bilateral cooperation, passed in a friendly and cordial atmosphere, it was announced in Luanda. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG in English 1536 GMT 15 May 85 LD]

NEW TU COUNCIL PRESIDENT--Belgrade, 22 May (TANJUG)--At its session today the Council of the Federation of Yugoslav Trade Unions elected Lazar Djodjic as the new council president. His term of office will be until the 10th congress of the Federation of Yugoslav Trade Unions. [Summary] [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1155 GMT 22 May 85 LD]

CALOVSKI AMBASSADOR TO UK--Belgrade, 15 May (TANJUG)--By a decree of the SFRY Presidency, Mitko Calovski, hitherto member of the Federal Executive Council and federal secretary for information, has been appointed new ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary for the SFRY in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1415 GMT 15 May 85 LD]

NO MACEDONIAN HISTORY BOOKS IN BULGARIA--Skopje, 23 May (TANJUG)--"Bulgaria did not put on display a single book in which Macedonian national history is mentioned, regardless of whether the book deals with more recent or older times." (Name indistinct) Ikonov, who was in charge of the Yugoslav part of the exhibition of Yugoslav children's books in Bulgaria, told the Belgrade daily POLITIKA EKSPRES. Of the 155 titles of Macedonian publishers sent for the exhibition in Pleven from April 18 to 26, the Bulgarian authorities have denied entry at the two countries' border to 30 titles. The only explanation offered was that "these books cannot be brought into Bulgaria." According to Ikonov, the books included 5 picture books for preschool children and all of them pertain to some important event in Macedonian history or contain pictures of Macedonian heroes from the times under the Turks. "The majority of the books that were denied entry into Bulgaria deal with Macedonia's national liberation struggle in which the true role of the czarist Bulgarian army, an ally of the axis powers in World War Two, is shown," Ikonov said in his statement to POLITIKA EKSPRES. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG in English 0217 GMT 23 May 85 LD]

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